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FBIS-EEU-90-168 CONTENTS *29 August 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Finnish Parliamentary Delegation Arrives *[Tirana Radio]* 1
  Cami Receives Delegation *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Youth Paper Denies Rumors of 'Liberalism' *[ZERI I RINISE 18 Aug]* 1

BULGARIA

Leaders Address National Assembly on BSP Fire 2
  BSP's Lilov Reads Party Statement *[Sofia Radio]* 2
  SDS' Beron Condemns 'Vandalistic Act' *[Sofia Radio]* 3
  Lukanov Defends Government Response *[Sofia Radio]* 4
BSP Presidium Issues 'Appeal' Concerning Fire *[DUMA 28 Aug]* 6
Spokesman Details Zhelev's Actions During Fire *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Zhelev Blames 'Inaction' on Interior Minister *[BTA]* 7
Defense Ministry Appeals for Calm After Riots *[BTA]* 7
Military, Police Respond to Criticism Over Riots 8
  Police Chief Accuses Trenchev *[BTA]* 8
  Rusinov on Problems of Making Arrests *[Sofia Radio]* 8
  Pleven Forces Support Colleagues' Demands *[Sofia Radio]* 8
  Officers' Statement on Sofia Riot *[Sofia Radio]* 8
  Sofia Police Hold Protest Rally *[BTA]* 9
Political, Media Response to BSP Fire Continues 9
  M.P. Claims Evidence of BSP Role *[BTA]* 9
  ASP Warns Against Political Gain *[BTA]* 10
  DUMA Speaks of 'Anarchy, Hooliganism' *[27 Aug]* 10
  Party Papers 'Unanimous' in Criticism *[BTA]* 10
'Radicals' Accept Basis of BSP Draft Platform *[DUMA 26 Aug]* 11
  ASO Satisfied With Draft *[DUMA 23 Aug]* 11
Assembly Member Khristova Announces Hunger Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Zhelev Recalls 1968 CSFR Invasion as 'Crime' *[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 22 Aug]* 12
BZNS Position on Possible Merger Discussed *[BTA]* 12
Army Personnel From Samokov Petition President *[DEMOKRATSIYA 22 Aug]* 12
New Reservoir Restores Water Supply to Kurdzhali *[TRUD 23 Aug]* 13
Parliament's Condemnation of Iraq Criticized *[DUMA 27 Aug]* 13
UK, U.S. Economists Work on 'Crisis Management' *[BTA]* 14

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Hungarian Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit 15
  Statement Upon Arrival *[Budapest MTI]* 15
  Received by Officials *[Prague Radio]* 15
  Interviewed on Prague Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 15
  Meets Deputy Premier *[CTK]* 17
  MTI Comments on Jeszenszky Visit *[Budapest MTI]* 17
Jeszensky on Slovak-Hungarian Relations *[NARODNA OBRODA 23 Aug]* 18
Hungary, Hungarian Minority Leader Decried *[NARODNA OBRODA 23 Aug]* 18
Havel Spokesman Gives Press Briefing *[CTK]* 19
President Havel's 21 Aug Speech Criticized *[SVOBODNE SLOVO, etc.]* 20
Planning Officials Outline Economic Strategies *[CTK]* 21
Army Denies Order To Act Last November *[CTK]* 22

Army Said Ready To Intervene Last November *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 25 Aug]* 22
Slovak Premier on Minorities, Other Issues *[NARODNA OBRODA 22 Aug]* 22
Slovak Party Condemns Separatist Ideas *[CTK]* 25
Deputy Premier on Trencianske Teplice Meeting *[NARODNA OBRODA 25 Aug]* 25
Communists Affirm Role in 1944 Slovak Uprising *[CTK]* 26
Ruml on GDR Attitude Toward Romanian Refugees *[ADN]* 26
447 People Awaiting Asylum, Refugee Status *[LIDOVE NOVINY 23 Aug]* 26
New Expert Group on Danube Water Project Formed *[CTK]* 26
Havel Receives SFRY Presidency Member *[Ljubljana Radio]* 26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Official Says 'No Military Experts' in Iraq *[ADN]* 27
Hong Kong Investors' Citizenship Causes 'Surprise' *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 24 Aug]* 27
NVA Reportedly Researched Chemical Weapons *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 27 Aug]* 27
Poison Gas Expert Views NVA Research *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 27 Aug]* 29

HUNGARY

Jordanian Official on Gulf, Israel-U.S. Roles *[MTI]* 30
Daily Reacts to Romanian Foreign Ministry Note *[Vajda in NEPSZABADSAG 28 Aug]* 30
Stricter Customs Control at Romanian Border *[MTI]* 31
Assembly Welcomes North Atlantic Council Proposal *[MTI]* 31
Ukrainian Foreign Minister on Ukrainian Situation *[NEDPSZABADSAG 25 Aug]* 31
Swiss Foreign Minister Summarizes Visit *[MTI]* 32
Jeszenszky Queried on Prague Discussion Topics *[Budapest Radio]* 32
Environment Committee Meets on Boes Power Station *[Budapest TV]* 32
'Self-Defense' Weapons Withdrawn From Public *[Budapest Radio]* 33
Further on National Assembly Special Session 33
    Gyula Horn Speaks on Romania *[MTI]* 33
    Committee Statement on Borders *[MTI]* 33
    President Goncz Addresses Assembly *[MTI]* 34
    Justice Minister Addresses Assembly *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Goncz Interviewed on Role as President *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 18 Aug]* 34
Goncz Speaks About Personal Life, Magyar People *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Party Representatives Comment on New Government *[MAGYAR NEMZET 25 Aug]* 38
Opinion Poll Results on Political Change *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 24 Aug]* 39
Official Views Economic Policy, Trade Ties *[MTI]* 40
Economic Relations Minister on Economic Prospects *[NEPSZABADSAG 18 Aug]* 40
Commentary on Minorities' Lifestyle, Status *[Kiss in MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Aug]* 41
Tibor Flanek Commentary on Discontent *[Flanek in NEPSZAVA 22 Aug]* 42
National Peasant Party Voices Dissatisfaction *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Socialist Party To Promote Continued Criticism *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Entrepreneurs Party To Enter Local Elections *[Budapest Radio]* 44
Free Democrats Begin National Election Campaign *[Budapest Radio]* 44
Interior Minister Horvath on Police Reorganization *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Aug]* 44

POLAND

Foreign Ministry Contacts Kuwait Embassy *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
Special Kuwaiti Envoy Arrives for Talks *[PAP]* 46
    Jaruzelski Receives Envoy *[PAP]* 46
Effects of Soviet Oil Supply Reductions Seen *[Warsaw Radio]* 46
KGB Presence in Poland Assessed, Questioned *[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 26 Aug]* 46
Official Discusses Warsaw Pact Reforms, Future *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Aug]* 50
Walesa Argues Need for Political Pluralism *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 21 Aug]* 52
    Declares 'Cannot Stand Idly By' *[PAP]* 53
Jun Polls Portray Public 'Bewilderment' *[POLITYKA 7 Jul]* 53
Official Assesses Privatization, Legislation *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Aug]* 55
Government Economic Committee Views Trends *[PAP]* 56
Military Police Created; Commander States Aims *[ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ 24-26 Aug]* 56

Home Army Backs Kaczorowski for President *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Morawiecki Sets Out Presidential Platform *[PAP]* 57
Reportage on Walesa's Visit to Italy *[cross-reference]* 57

ROMANIA

Iliescu Denies Militaru, Brucan Revolution Claims *[ROMPRES]* 58
* Speculations Made on Attempted Coups *[AZI 15 Aug]* 59
Party Leaders View University Square Events *[ROMPRES]* 60
    Further on Various Party Views *[ROMPRES]* 60
Disturbance in University Square Reported *[ROMPRES]* 61
Brasov Strikers To Hold Open Rally 29 Aug *[ROMPRES]* 61
Press on Brasov Tractorul Workers Strike *[ROMPRES]* 61
Roman Discusses Winter Food Supplies *[ROMPRES]* 61
Riot at Miercurea Ciuc Prison Reported *[ROMPRES]* 62
Nicu Ceausescu Admitted to Hospital Under Guard *[ROMPRES]* 62
Severin on Bills Submitted to Parliamentary Debate *[ROMPRES]* 62
* Aims of Center-Left Alliance Cited *[TINERETUL LIBER 15 Aug]* 62
PRNU Demands Hungary Pay for WWII Damage *[ROMPRES]* 63
50th Anniversary of 'Vienna Award' Marked 63
    Transylvanian Army Appeals to Nation *[ROMPRES]* 63
    PND Statement on Commemoration *[ROMPRES]* 64
    UDMR Condemns 'Subordination' *[ROMPRES]* 64
    Appeal for Calm Released *[ROMPRES]* 64
Gulf Crisis Implications for Romania Viewed *[ROMPRES]* 65
Over 400 Romanian Workers Return From Iraq *[ROMPRES]* 65
Nastase: Romania Has Shown Commitment to Europe *[ROMPRES]* 65
* Nastase Discusses CSCE, Other Issues *[DIMINEATA 12 Aug]* 66
Sixth Romanian-Swiss Economic Commission Meets *[ROMPRES]* 68
Roman Receives Italian Businessmen *[ROMPRES]* 68

YUGOSLAVIA

Militia Opens Fire at Crowd Awaiting Congressmen 69
    'Several Thousand' Gather in Pristina *[TANJUG]* 69
    Militia Acts 'To Establish Order' *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
    Use of Tear Gas Reported *[TANJUG]* 69
    Street 'Emptied Within Minutes' *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
U.S. Delegations Visit Croatia, Meet Leaders 69
    Dole Delgation Meets With Domljan *[TANJUG]* 69
    Mrsic Greets Executive Branch Group *[TANJUG]* 70
Presidency Disturbed by Tudjmans' Opening of Meet *[TANJUG]* 70
Commission To Draft Croatian Constitution Formed *[Zagreb Radio]* 70
    Tudjman Views Tasks, Goals *[TANJUG]* 70
Albanian Delegates Protest Kosovo Situation *[TANJUG]* 71
Serbs Protest Pressure From 'Muslim Nationalism' *[POLITIKA 23 Aug]* 71
Kosovo LC, SAWP Call For Strike Boycott *[TANJUG]* 72
Raskovic Dismissed From Job; Knin 'More Tense' *[Belgrade Radio]* 72
Reformist Alliance Coordinating Committee Founded *[TANJUG]* 73
Macedonia Rejects Albanian Rights Petition *[TANJUG]* 73
UN Compensation Sought for Iraq Sanction Loses *[TANJUG]* 73
Jovic, Iraqi Envoy Discuss 'Critical' Situation *[TANJUG]* 73
Loncar, PRC's Tian Call For Gulf Dialogue *[TANJUG]* 74
Jovic Discusses Reform With Luxembourg Minister *[TANJUG]* 74

Finnish Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

AU2808193990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] A parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Finland headed by Markus Kalkonen [name as heard], chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Relations Committee, arrived in our country today for an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The delegation was met at Rinas Airport by Foto Cami, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Foreign Relations of the People's Assembly, deputies, and (?members) of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Cami Receives Delegation

AU2808200990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] This afternoon, Comrade Foto Cami, chairman of the Permanent Foreign Relations Committee of the People's Assembly, received the parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Finland headed by Markus Kalkonen [name as heard], chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee.

During the meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Foto Cami pointed out, among other things, the good relations existing between Albania and Finland and the opportunities to further expand and consolidate them in fields of interest for our two peoples. He stressed that visits and contacts between the parliaments and personalities of our two countries serve this goal. After talking to the Finnish parliamentarians about the centuries- old history of the Albanian people's struggle for freedom and independence and the major transformations that have taken place in all fields since the liberation, Foto Cami focused on new developments in Albania and the measures being taken to deepen and democratize the country's entire life in the economy, the field of legislation, etc. He underlined our country's readiness to extend its participation in international organizations and the contribution Albania is making toward a climate of understanding, peace, and security in the Balkans and Europe. He spoke about the special importance Albania gives to issues of cooperation and security in Europe. For his part, Markus Kalkonen said that he appreciated Albania's struggle and efforts to win and preserve its independence. The fact that it is a small country does not mean that its contribution to international politics is unimportant, and we Finnish parliamentarians will find it a pleasant duty to spread awareness about and support Albania in the CSCE process, in which your country is playing an increasingly greater role.

Rolanda Dhimitri, deputy chairman of the Permanent Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, and others were also present at this reception.

Youth Paper Denies Rumors of 'Liberalism'

AU2808134590 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 18 Aug 90 p 2

[Xhevdet Shehu article: "Who Makes Rumors Official?"]

[Excerpts] A worried lecturer from the Tirana Higher Agricultural Institute recently knocked at the door of our editorial office.

"What on earth are you up to? You are corrupting young people," he said, without mentioning the gist of the problem that worried him. When we asked what this was, he explained:

"Look, you have published an article by one of your journalists which says that young people can grow beards and moustaches, and can wear their hair as long as they like and in whatever style they like."

Of course, we smiled at this and asked a simple question: "Have you read the article you are talking about."

"No," he said, "but I have heard about it."

So we put the newspaper in his hand and in a few moments everything was clear.

"Strange," the lecturer said, after thinking for a moment. "Why did they tell me differently? There is nothing to worry about on the subject I mentioned. Things are even described very well and clearly, in an up-to-date way."

This lecturer's concern was natural. However, they way he obtained his information, or rather disinformation, makes you think.

Somebody had told him that ZERI I RINISE, the organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth, had "justified" liberalism among young people and the wearing of long hair and moustaches. This somebody had, no doubt, heard it from somebody else, and so forth. The source would be as hard to find as a needle in a haystack.

Notice carefully, however! These words passed from mouth to mouth and ear to ear, were distorted, turned upside down, and assumed an opposite meaning. [passage omitted]

Our pure, healthy, and cultured young people, with their clear worldview, despise and reject such ideas and practices.

The youth organization, brought up to be modest, and devoid of all hysteria, complacency, megalomania, alarmism, and pessimism, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia, has every opportunity to confront the problems that emerge before it, and to powerfully support the process of democratizing the country's life. It will forge ahead inexorably on the road indicated by the party.

Leaders Address National Assembly on BSP Fire

BSP's Lilov Reads Party Statement

AU2808142790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1224 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, at Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 28 August—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, people's deputies:

With your permission, I will acquaint you with the view of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] concerning the pogrom and burning down of the BSP headquarters building.

Declaration of the BSP parliamentary group in connection with the devastation [pogrom] and burning down of the BSP building in Sofia:

During the night of 26 and 27 August 1990, in the center of Sofia, a destructive attack and arson was committed on the BSP headquarters building. This act, extreme in its brutality, must make everyone consider what turn the political processes in Bulgaria today may take. Long before this event, the BSP more than once warned, including in the Grand National Assembly, of the dangerous rise in tension and confrontation in society. The increasing acts of open violence during the last few weeks provided sharp evidence of the increasing danger.

It is our conviction that these acts of violence should be described as a direct threat against the democratic process which has begun in Bulgaria and that common actions should be undertaken to nip such actions in the bud. Instead of this, our party was accused here, in the Grand National Assembly, on the television, and in other mass media, that it does not accept the forums of expression by democratically inclined citizens outside parliament, who spontaneously express their feelings.

Unfortunately, the antidemocratic and, as has become clear, preplanned and pre-organized events of 26 and 27 August totally confirmed that our fears and warnings were more than well-founded.

In our new political history an act has been recorded concerning the grossest political extremism and barbarity, which perhaps places Bulgaria on the threshold of civil war, with all the political consequences arising from this.

The justified question arises, not only concerning the physical perpetrators, but first and foremost: Who are the instigators and organizers of this criminal crime? It is the duty of the investigatory and prosecuting organs to provide the answer to this question. The BSP insists that all the facts and circumstances should be established and that the law should be applied to its full extent. The Bulgarian people must know the full truth, the names of the forces and the names of the persons guilty of setting fire to the BSP party building. Given the existence of so many eyewitnesses, so much physical evidence, and so many participants in the event, this will not be particularly difficult.

We want the truth, and only the truth, declared from on high, objectively, and with the naming of names. It is clear that this act can only be the work of the opponents of the democratic process in Bulgaria, the opponents of a peaceful transition to democracy. These are extreme right-wing reactionary forces, dangerous for Bulgaria, who in their essence represent the neofascism now appearing in Bulgaria.

During the entire period from 10 November 1989 to the present, the BSP has unswervingly followed the line of peaceful transition to democracy. We have proven our loyalty to this line by specific actions in the name of national consensus, a broad policy of dialogue, and mutually acceptable compromises. Evidently, however, our readiness to make such decisions is regarded by certain people as an expression of weakness. This is a great political delusion. We categorically say no to confrontation and political tension, and at the same time, with the help of the hundreds of thousands of Socialists in Bulgaria and of almost three million voters, we will defend the peaceful transition in our country, and the security and the rights of the party and its members.

We express our gratitude to all the citizens and organizations who voiced their support for us at this difficult time, as well as to the political forces who categorically disassociated themselves from the committed crime. We value the words of sympathy, declarations of condemnation, and actions to neutralize the intentions of the political extremists. We are sure that through our common efforts we can gradually reduce the tension and build up trust as a way toward democracy in society.

At the same time, the BSP draws the attention of the Grand National Assembly, the public, and the people to the fact that in the opposition press, persistent attempts are being made to impose the version that the BSP planned the burning of their own building. We call upon the leaderships of the parties who publish these newspapers to adopt a clear position regarding this absurd political version of the event, in view of the absence of any attempts whatsoever on the part of the BSP to establish martial law following the fire, a version which is accordingly extremely speculative. These insinuations serve to conceal the truth concerning setting fire to the party headquarters. The BSP rejects them with profound indignation and anger. We propose that a special commission of the Grand National Assembly be formed to make the necessary parliamentary inquiry, without interfering in the powers and work of the investigation by the prosecutor's office. Let the evidence concerning this version, as announced in the opposition papers, be presented to the commission and to the inquiry. However, if the version is not proven, then the authors of the version will show their true political face and role in the fire.

The BSP was already accused more than once, decades ago, of setting fire to the German Reichstag, but the true arsonists were the Fascists. [sentence as heard] They, and the political extremists, are also the instigators of the Sofia fire. We would never have set fire to our own building. We want civil peace, nonviolence, and a peaceful transition to democracy. The event of 26 and 27 August lead to a different conclusion, namely that it is necessary to eliminate arbitrary power in our country. If this is not done within a few days, Bulgaria may have to face an even more grave situation. The formation of a strong and effective government, which is to implement radical reforms, should have absolute priority before all other questions. Such a government can, in our view, only be a government of national responsibility, relying on consensus of all the political forces regarding the vitally important questions which face us today.

The BSP believes in the sound common sense of the Bulgarian people as a firm barrier against political extremism and as a guarantee for civil peace in the country.

The BSP remains true to its course of dialogue between the political forces, of civil peace, and a peaceful transition to democracy.

The BSP will continue to make its contribution to the building of a free, just, and democratic society in Bulgaria.

Thank you for your attention.

SDS' Beron Condemns 'Vandalistic Act'

AU2808153390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1235 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Statement by Petur Beron, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council, at the 27th session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed colleagues, people's representatives:

Many times in recent months, I had the opportunity to repeat the words of the great Francisco Goya: When reason sleeps, monsters are born. We were glad that in the last several months such monsters did not appear, and nevertheless, many of us with trepidation expected such monsters to materialize. We thought that the Romanian nightmare would not happen in our country, but unfortunately, this was not the case. I can subscribe to most of Mr. Lilov's declaration, but nevertheless, I must express our position on this shameful event for our country that took place on the night of 26-27 August.

The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] people's representatives express their profound indignation at the vandalistic act perpetrated during the night of 26-27 August, when great damage was inflicted on buildings and valuable property. The SDS is an organization which was born in the name of nonviolence. All its political actions are characterized by their peaceful and legal character. During eight months, our organization conducted hundreds of meetings with mass participation, which were completely peaceful demonstrations of the struggle of ideas against the totalitarian regime and its representatives.

The SDS is not historically burdened by the ideology of violence. Its leaders have repeatedly stressed the opposite. Even now, their actions show the needed unity of words and deeds. Categorically opposing every form of violence, lawlessness, and threat of civic peace, we also categorically protest against the criminal acts of other persons and the attempts to use them for political goals. One of the dirtiest crimes—the vandalistic act of arson—has always been a political maneuver which is not allowed in civilized society.

The burning of the Reichstag was mentioned here. I can say that we are fully interested in discovering who was the Van der Luebe [the person accused of setting fire to the German Reichstag in 1933] of the fire in Sofia, and who was his Goering. [applause]

We consider the oral and written statements addressed to the leadership of our political forces, some of them carried by a certain newspaper which was not mentioned here by the previous speaker, as a crude instigation with dangerous consequences. [applause] This newspaper made a great contribution to instilling hatred, hostility, and a desire for revenge on the part of all those who do not want voluntarily to part with the monopoly of a certain party. [applause] The SDS and its parliamentarians, as always so far, were first at the location of the incident. [applause, cheers] Yes, this is precisely so! Our people's representatives were there, saw everything, and will document it at the appropriate places. [applause] It always is a positive thing when one has seen something with his own eyes. This is much better than hearing tales about it. Our members took an active part in the efforts to save the building and the property, and tame the violent and large crowd. Thanks to them and the noninterference of the law and order organs, the incident did not develop into a bloody one. There were no excesses against the citizens, and civic peace actually was preserved.

The country's president and vice president demonstrated high responsibility. They succeeded in contributing to decreasing tension. The SDS parliamentarians insist on an immediate clarification of the circumstances of this fire. The eyewitnesses will facilitate revealing the truth. We shall seek this truth in several directions: Who are the instigators of this criminal act; what political forces wanted before, during, and after the fire to utilize it and what goals did they pursue? You know very well that many questions surround this fire. People are asking questions and the specialized organs investigating the fire must also ask them. A major political crime was committed. The first question should be who benefits from it? [applause] It is superfluous to state the obvious fact that the SDS has no interest in destabilizing the country and disrupting the democratic process that is developing. [applause] In addition, we insist on a most careful investigation of the reason for the lack of action on the part of the law and order organs and the fire brigade from the very beginning of the fire, when it could be isolated, since not many people, who were unarmed, took part in the action. We want to investigate the responsibility of the governmental organs which did not energetically intervene in restricting the incident.

In this context, we demand that a parliamentary commission on investigating the case of formed, and that it include members of the parliament who directly witnessed the events. Of course, we must precisely define the mandate of this commission and its involvement in the investigation. I think that it is clear to all that this commission must reveal the political responsibility of the forces which stand behind the various groups and people who took part in the action. This was not a uniform mass of people. Those were differing groups—some of them prepared the fire, and such actions are prepared in advance; others instigated, threatened, and robbed; and others yet benefited from the political consequences of the arson. All this must be investigated by the parliamentary commission, and the political responsibility must be revealed, because the investigation of the law and order organs will primarily deal with the criminal responsibility on the basis of the law. We, however, must establish the political responsibility, regardless of the fact what political organization is involved. [applause]

Responsibility must be immediately demanded from all those who continue to exploit the political aspects of the case and sow disorder and a spirit of instigation among the people through unfounded accusations against certain organizations. I would like to point out that we are convinced that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and the BSP as a whole have no interest in destabilizing the situation in the country. We are convinced of this. [applause] However, this does not mean that certain forces, large and small alike, rejected by the developments of events in recent months, are not seeking revenge and would not like to profit from the situation. What are those forces? This issue must be clarified, and those forces must be isolated. [applause]

We appeal to soberly assess the event, and the political circumstances that surround it. This is the only opportunity to avoid a political mistake that would lead to insanity and jeopardizing democracy. We believe that all honest people outside the parliament will rally around this appeal.

I would also like to say that we must take into consideration the timing of the attack against the BSP headquarters. Of course, such an attack could be conducted with an even greater ease against any other political building. I know that all political organizations have received letters containing threats of arson against their buildings. Everyone could confirm this.

You know that we must form a government. This is a complex and responsible process, which must combine different political interests and strengthen mutual confidence. You know that we must create organs of local government, prepare the municipal elections, and so forth. This is an operation which also demands stability and mutual confidence. We have just created abroad a more or less decent image of our country. You know that for many years and because of many reasons our image was negative. With joint efforts, we have just succeeded in doing something about this. An act such as arson sends us to circle in which only Romania is located.

All those things, which are taking place at a such fateful and difficult time for our country, are not accidental. Their timing is not accidental. This is a blow against our efforts to find a common language and a common road toward developing the democratic process. Therefore, we must remember that neither we nor you have any interest in disrupting the democratic process. However, there are people and organizations who are interested in this. We must find them and show that such forces have no future in our country.

Thank you very much.

Lukanov Defends Government Response

AU2808164990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1254 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Statement by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the 27th session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 28 August—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed people's representatives:

I think that we are unanimous in viewing the devastation [pogrom] and arson against the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council as the most serious attempt since 10 November 1989 to torpedo the process of democratization and creation of a law-abiding state and just and civilized society in Bulgaria. This act was a provocation aimed against the Grand National Assembly, the law, the state institutions, and in the final analysis, against the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It confirms the often invoked danger of a new attempt to restore totalitarianism in our country and create in Bulgaria a regime of dictatorship and terror.

I think that we witness the restoration of some very dangerous tendencies in Bulgarian political history. We could speak about the birth of neofascism and therefore we must do everything possible to turn this day into its last day. [applause]

We should not deceive ourselves about the fact already mentioned here, that a powerful blow was inflicted to Bulgaria's international prestige. Undoubtedly, this could create additional difficulties in our efforts to seek and assert a worthy place for Bulgaria among the civilized nations of the world.

The government and the political forces and public organizations stated their position on the event. The government expressed total support for the declaration and actions of the chairman of the Republic. As far as the actions of the government are concerned, we intend to assess our actions, and preparations for this have already begun. In addition, the actions of the government can be assessed by the Grand National Assembly. Therefore, I would not like to say something before those assessments and hasten to draw a conclusion. Furthermore, an objective analysis must be conducted of the numerous facts and of the results of the formal investigation of this criminal act. We must know the entire truth and I think that we are all equally and vitally interested in this. Three things are obvious so far: There was preliminary preparation for this act, and I think that it was a very serious preparation. These were not spontaneous and innocent acts, at least on the part of some of the participants. Second, people gathered exceptionally quickly in the square, something which hindered very much the actions of the law and order organs and the fire brigade. And third, there were specific instigators of those actions. I do not want to mention them now because their role is being investigated.

The question emerges of where the government and its organs were during that time. Without assessing anything—I already said that the assessment is yet to be made—I would only like to inform the Assembly that the acting minister of internal affairs and some of his closest colleagues and collaborators were at the location of the incident immediately after it began, namely, shortly before the attack on the BSP headquarters. The acting chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Chudomir Aleksandrov, was in touch with the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs after 2200 [1900 GMT], and after 2300 he was in his office. Shortly before 2400 a special meeting of the Council of Ministers was convened and special measures related to establishing control over the situation were discussed. The meeting was interrupted when the chairman of the republic initiated a special meeting at the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the participation of some members of the government.

During the same night, the government issued appropriate instructions to the municipal authorities and the regional directorates of internal affairs on adopting all necessary measures and preventing the destabilization of the situation in other cities.

I repeat: This is no assessment but merely facts, because at the present stage, it is hardly possible to assess the efficiency of the measures adopted by the government without knowing the entire truth about the events.

As far as the actions of the special organs are concerned, at this stage I would like to spare my words. However, undoubtedly I must admit that after those organs were not able to efficiently prevent people from breaking into the building, the devastation, and the fire, their actions cannot be assessed as adequate and timely.

Of course, we must take into consideration the fact of the atmosphere that was gradually created in and around those organs during the period since 10 November. We demanded too much from them. At the same time, we all were not sufficiently prepared to deal with their problems. We demanded restraint from them and this was correct. Without restraint, we could hardly reach the present stage, when nevertheless, conditions of nonviolence and peaceful transition exist. We greeted this restraint and tolerance and the moment came when the use of this restraint and tolerance proved to be erroneous and inadequate. This restraint did not correspond to the real situation which emerged during the night of 26-27 August around and in the BSP headquarters.

Of course, we also must take into consideration that measures and means that are regularly applied in the developed democracies when laws are violated cannot always be easily and automatically applied under our specific conditions. We must remember this against the background of the especially exacerbated situation and the still fresh memories of the arbitrary use of power on the part of the totalitarian regime, and the energetic reaction of public opinion against every form of use of force, even when this use is legally justified and applied in the name of the law. From this point of view, I personally fully agree with those who are not inclined to accept the lack of a new Law on the People's Militia as a justification of the actions of the law and order organs during the night of 26-27 August. At the same time, we all must understand that there was not an adequate legal basis for the actions of the law and order organs under complex conditions. We must do everything possible to fill the existing vacuum and imperfection of legislation.

I think that the main conclusion we must reach at this discussion, which will hardly be pleasant or nice, because the issue is so painful for all of us, is that we must not only determine who the guilty ones are, but also learn the lesson which will be beneficial to our further sociopolitical development. In this context, I think that we must reach a social consensus, rather than only a parliamentary consensus, about the limits of tolerance in anything related to defending the law.

I think that in a mature democracy, the defense of the law, even when at first glance negligent things are involved, is a matter of fundamental principle. This is a matter about which no compromises could be made. This is the first lesson which we must learn by all means if we do not want to repeat the incident in a much more tragic form.

Second, the rule-of-law state is based on the lack of compromise in interpreting and applying the law. From this point of view, it is absolutely necessary that we establish who the guilty ones are and punish them.

I think that we must ask the appropriate National Assembly commissions to quickly review not only the issue of regulating the legal problems of the People's Militia, but also review many other laws, including the Law on the Rallies, Demonstrations, and Other Public Events, in order to quickly create an adequate legal basis of actions under complex circumstances.

Third, I think that the most incorrect and fatal conclusion we could reach is the one that leads toward further disunity and strengthening polarization and confrontation. We must unite both in assessing and applying the conclusions of this dramatic event. We must admit that the climate of hatred that recently has systematically been instilled in the Bulgarian society, is fertile soil for such crimes.

Fourth, I would like to repeat something I already mentioned when I presented the governmental report: As soon as possible, we must create or complete the process of creating powerful and authoritative organs of executive power and of central and local executive power. There is a vacuum and powerlessness in the government. I will be the first to admit this. It is our common responsibility to overcome this stage as soon as possible. I regret very much that what I presented then in an abstract form materialized so quickly.

Finally, I would like to say that the forthcoming changes in our country, and the problems and difficulties we will encounter, cannot be compared to the problems and difficulties of the past. We as a nation must face extremely high obstacles. If we enter this period in the state we are now in regarding anything related to the moral and political climate, the state of the institutions, and civic awareness, this will be fatal for Bulgaria. In the best case, this will cast a shadow of doubt over our basic strategic national goals—the construction of the democratic state and the transition toward a market economy. Therefore, I think that the decision that the Grand National Assembly will adopt on this matter, is a test for all of us. The fate of the democratic process, and to a large degree the future of the country, and history's assessment of the Grand National Assembly will depend on the manner in which we assess the incident, the practical steps we adopt, and on the conclusions we draw.

Thank you very much.

BSP Presidium Issues 'Appeal' Concerning Fire

AU2908141190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
28 Aug 90 p 1

["Appeal of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party"; place and date not given]

[Text] Comrade fellow countrymen:

Tonight (26-27 August), extremist forces destroyed and set on fire the Party Building in Sofia. These actions cannot be described as other than a crime against public order and civil peace in Bulgaria.

Democracy in Bulgaria is threatened. It is the aim of these forces to cast the country into chaos and disorder, and, as an inevitable consequence, into civil war.

The leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] condemns these criminal and barbaric acts. They further the cause of right-wing political extremism which is quickly developing and threatening to turn into neofascism.

We call on the president of the Republic and the Bulgarian Government to immediately take most severe measures to stop all such actions and, applying the full severity of the law, to bring the people who instigated and carried out these actions to trial.

We also appeal to all political forces to condemn these actions, dissociate themselves from them, and help in stopping these gross antidemocratic manifestations, which threaten the peaceful transition to democracy and push the country toward disaster.

We call on all Socialists, party organizations and leaderships, and all honorable citizens to express this very day, at rallies and meetings, their emphatic protest against this assault on freedom and democracy.

The BSP continues to follow the course of peaceful transition and nonviolence. It appeals to its electors and to all Bulgarian citizens who hold civil peace and the future of democracy dear, to condemn the criminal acts of political extremism and to block the way of the forces who are thrusting the country toward disorder, chaos, and civil war.

Sofia, 27 August 1990.

Spokesman Details Zhelev's Actions During Fire

AU2808184790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Statement by presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov in Sofia on 28 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] In connection with the news about the work of the president of the Republic and his office, which is based entirely upon openness and glasnost concerning the activities of the Presidency, I am authorized to announce the following concerning the alarming events in the center of Sofia, when the Party Building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was set on fire.

The brief visit by President Zhelyu Zhelev to Varna and Shabla at the end of last week was a business visit. He had to clarify certain urgent matters concerning the future functioning of the Evksinovgrad complex and eliminating its dependence on the state budget. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the head of state was planned with the municipal leaderships of the political forces in Varna. This meeting was postponed on account of the events in the center of Sofia.

The president of the Republic received the first information concerning people gathering in front of BSP headquarters at 2040 [1740 GMT] on 26 August. At 2100, telephone contact was established with Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev; with General Stoyanov, deputy minister of interior affairs; with academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly; and with Dimitur Ludzhev, adviser to the president.

At 2140, President Zhelyu Zhelev was informed about the arson attempts which were starting. A decision was immediately made to return to Sofia.

At 2235, Radio Sofia recorded by telephone the president's first appeal to all the political forces to restrain from violence. At 2300, the appeal was broadcast over the radio and also transmitted on television.

At 2310, the president of the Republic instructed General Stoyanov, acting minister of the interior, to take all measures prescribed by the law to stop the disorders, short of using firearms.

At 0000, the president's aircraft landed at Varna, and took off 15 minutes later for Sofia.

At 0115, the president was already at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where he called a conference with the leaders of the political forces and the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The conference started at 0200.

At 0215, after he had acquainted himself with the situation, the president repeated his order to the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to take all measures prescribed by the law, without using firearms, in order to stop the disorders, that is, three hours elapsed between the first order and its repetition, during which time the Ministry of Internal Affairs failed to take the measures which the president had ordered.

Moreover, at 0030 the special battalion had been withdrawn.

It became clear at the conference that other orders issued by the president at 2310 had not been carried out: to switch on the loudspeaker system of the square in front of the BSP building, and to enter into direct contact with the people gathered in the street.

During the early hours of 27th August, the president continued consultations and prepared for the second appeal by the president of the Republic, which was broadcast on the radio at 0730 and repeated at 0900. During the whole of the night, Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev was in the square in order to establish calm. He was manhandled.

At 0900, the president summoned General Stoyanov to elucidate the situation, and then also called in the commander of the special battalion.

At 1500, the president of the Republic summoned the leaders of the political forces for consultations, together with the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly. His appeal was supported, and the violence was condemned by everyone.

At 2000, the television broadcast the president's appeal to the nation.

At 1200 on 28 August, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov was invited to the Presidency in order to clarify the facts regarding the inaction of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At 1300, in order to shed further light on the situation, General Filev, chief of the Forces for Defense of the Constitution, was called to the Presidency. From the foregoing, it is clear that of all the forces of authority in this tense situation, the Forces for Defense acted most energetically.

President Zhelyu Zhelev and Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev made the most efforts to stop the disorders, to calm the situation, and to preserve civil peace.

Zhelev Blames 'Inaction' on Interior Minister

AU2808201190 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev on Events in the Country as President and Scholar"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—There is no danger of fascism in Bulgaria. I think it is silly to speak of fascism, President Zhelyu Zhelev, who is the author of the book "Fascism," said, commenting on the statements that there was the danger of fascism and neo-fascism in Bulgaria which have been repeatedly made after the Party House of the Socialists was set afire. Fascism is related to a totalitarian system which is not so easy to build, the president went on to say. There are still elements of the totalitarian communist system in the country, but they are being dismantled, they have almost disintegrated. Speaking about the creation of a new totalitarian system is just idle talk; it is cheap propaganda, President Zhelev told a team of BTA reporters.

The grave economic crisis is the most dangerous for the country. The deplorable economic situation can provoke desperate actions on the part of the people. The way out is to rapidly implement reforms.

Dr. Zhelev underlined that the presidential institution was the most efficient of all authorities at the critical moment. He had in mind the efforts of Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev, too. The other authorities reacted too slow and the Ministry of the Interior did not react at all, Mr. Zhelev said. He said that the inaction of the security forces was surprising and pointed out the personal responsibility of the acting minister of foreign affairs. The insufficient regulation of the rights of the Ministry of the Interior cannot excuse their standing idle when violation and not just protest is involved.

Defense Ministry Appeals for Calm After Riots

AU2908102990 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (BTA)—Today it is especially important for all army outfits and units to keep calm, the personnel should not give way to provocation, reason should prevail over feelings, it is said in the appeal to the Army made by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defence.

The appeal was made in connection with the events in the capital on the night of August 26. It is pointed out that there is the danger of their developing in an unwelcome direction, they may get out of control and plunge the country into riots and a civil war.

Recalling the address of the president in which he said that "democracy is responsibility, not revenge," the leadership of the ministry stresses the great responsibility of the members of the Bulgarian Armed Forces as an above-party institution of national importance. No political biases that may disunite and confront the army collectives should be allowed in the Army, it is said in the appeal.

Military, Police Respond to Criticism Over Riots

Police Chief Accuses Trenchev

AU2808154590 Sofia BTA in English 1407 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Police Repudiate Charges"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—On the background of increasing charges against the police for being inactive on the night of August 26 to August 27 when the Party House—the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, was set on fire in the centre of Sofia, today a high-ranking officer of the security forces announced that the signal for the raid was given by Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Independent Confederation of Labour.

According to Major General Purvan Rusinov, head of the Police Department in Sofia, at about 20:00 hrs. Dr. Trenchev called on the thousands of people who had gathered in the square in front of the building to attack it because the promise to take down the pentacle from its roof was not fulfilled.

Up to that moment the policemen in the square were with their usual uniforms on, without the necessary technical equipment which made it impossible for them to hold the pressing crowd in check, General Rusinov said. He pointed out the imbalance of forces: 400 policemen against three or four thousand raiders urged on by at least another 10 thousand people.

Many charges against the police have appeared these days in the press. Today's MLADEZH, after insisting on the resignation of the president and the vice president of the Republic and on taking the government to book, writes that the chiefs of the Sofia Police Department left their subordinates "to stand idle in the crowd without taking a decision" while they themselves left hurriedly the square in their cars.

The general said that "in the situation the police acted in the spirit of civil peace".

On the night of the attack against the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party the police detained 46 people. Seventy of them had to be taken to hospital because they were wounded or had different burns, two policemen included.

Rusinov on Problems of Making Arrests

AU2808122790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The news conference of representatives of the Sofia City Directorate of the People's Militia, the National Fire Brigade Service, the Main Investigation Administration, and the Chief Prosecutor's Office in connection with setting fire to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Headquarters, continues.

Major General Purvan Rusinov, head of Militia Service, clarified the difficulties in arresting the arsonists of the BSP headquarters. Many eyewitnesses will be questioned, and if it is established that there were instigators, they will be punished on the basis of the law. The general further clarified how the militia will act in the future under similar circumstances:

[Begin Rusinov recording] The militia needs more serious and legal protection. We know that a draft law on the People's Militia is being discussed. We would like very much that the integrity of the militia employee is inviolable.

In the future we shall act in a more decisive manner, however, if the attackers are armed with long sticks, and so forth, our defensive arms will again prove insufficient. The militia must receive new technical equipment and new means of struggle under similar circumstances. [end recording]

Pleven Forces Support Colleagues' Demands

AU2908112490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] A declaration issued by the independent organization of the employees of the Pleven Regional Internal Affairs Administration states that the officers and militia personnel express solidarity with the well-founded demands of their colleagues in Sofia.

They insist that the inviolability of the persons of the militia officers be guaranteed, and that a start be made on specifying by regulations the obligations of citizens in the country.

Officers' Statement on Sofia Riot

AU2808200390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Appeal" from the Initiative Committee of the Independent Trade Union Association of the militia officers in the Sofia Directorate of Interior Affairs; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The political events in recent days led to the burning of the building of the Supreme Party Council in Sofia. Our actions proved ineffective because the order for the use of physical force and ancillary means was issued too late. Some of our officers were injured. Our equipment, which in any case was in short supply, was put to the test.

This is why, if we are called upon again to go out into the streets and take action against a wild crowd of extremists, we must be sure that society will stand behind us and the law will be applied with all its severity.

While supporting the declaration of the president of the Republic, we protest against the situation we have been placed in, to always be blamed for everything, and put forward the following minimum demands to guarantee the fulfillment of our duties:

With a deadline of one week, a competent commission should be formed to resolve the immediate service problems of the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This commission should start work on 5 September 1990, with the joint participation of our representatives.

Until a new law on the militia—the police—comes into force, legal instructions should be issued by presidential decree to regulate the work of the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

We announce to all our colleagues that a rally in support of the demands of the officers of the Sofia City Directorate of Interior Affairs will be held at 1330 [1030 GMT] tomorrow, 29 August, in Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia. The rally has been permitted by the Sofia City People's Council.

Sofia Police Hold Protest Rally

AU2908143590 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (BTA)—Policemen from Sofia and the rest of the country today staged a protest action in front of parliament building, demanding a law which should guarantee the depoliticization, the rights and the duties of the law-enforcement authorities.

Police officers of all ranks accused the command of the law-enforcement authorities of inaction and incompetence in handling the arson and vandalization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters two days ago. They urged that professionals uninfluenced by the political situation be assigned the direction of the security forces.

The speakers at the rally blamed politicians for trying to turn the police into a "scapegoat" for their own schemes. "Some people wanted us to let blood in front of the BSP house. Thank God, this didn't happen," said Major Angel Kuzmanov, president of the Independent Trade Union Federation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Employees.

The policemen want a commission to be appointed within seven days which should take action for an immediate settlement of their urgent professional and social problems. They want an elimination of the unneeded administrative units in the management of the future Bulgarian police force and a public disclosure of the responsibility of those to blame for the police inaction at the BSP headquarters arson.

"The security forces will be able to do their duties only in the conditions of a broad consensus on civil peace in the transition to democracy, on the unity of democracy and public order and with public support for their actions within and in defence of the law," said Major General Stoyan Stoyanov, acting minister of internal affairs, speaking at a meeting of the Grand National Assembly Committee on National Security today.

Political, Media Response to BSP Fire Continues

M.P. Claims Evidence of BSP Role

AU2808201090 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—I have reasons to believe that the arson of the Socialists' Party House is a provocation staged by themselves, opposition M.P. Stefan Stoyanov told today a BTA reporter. Yesterday he made the same statement at a news conference of the Union of Democratic Forces, but considers that his statement has been quoted incorrectly by the socialist press.

Mr. Stoyanov said he had "documents and other facts" incriminating the Socialists. He did not check them because he handed them over to the investigating authorities immediately.

According to Mr. Stoyanov the most important evidence was a cable sent from the provinces to the secretary of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, which got to the wrong address and then was given to Mr. Stoyanov. "There are preparations for super-provocative acts all over Bulgaria, we are getting ready for putting up resistance according to plans worked out locally"; the cable was signed "Bolshevik." Its author considers that "except for Yonchev and a few people in Sofia, all others are good-for-nothing and cowards with Lilov and Draganov at the head."

Mr. Stoyanov was shown the cable last Friday [24 August], two days before the ill-fated night. On the same day—Friday, other people warned him several times about the provocation staged by the Socialists. Asked who these people were, Mr. Stoyanov explained they belonged to different organizations "identifying themselves in the past with the formerly Communist, now Socialist Party."

In Mr. Stoyanov's view, when put together these facts which preceded the fire in the Socialists' party house give sufficient ground to prove the thesis of provocation. "I am waiting for the result of the investigation," Mr. Stoyanov said in conclusion.

Today in the Bulgarian Parliament one of the leaders of the opposition, Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, stated in his emotional speech that the arson was a provocation staged by certain forces of the Bulgarian Socialist Party with which it is reluctant to part. [sentence as received] The leader of the Socialists, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, sharply reacted to this statement.

ASP Warns Against Political Gain

AU2808115490 Sofia BTA in English 1031 GMT 28 Aug 90

["It's Immoral To Capitalize on Fire, ASP Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Party (ASP), which some time ago broke away from the then Communist and now Socialist Party, declared in connection with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] reaction to the fire on the night of August 26 that it is immoral and even criminal to make political capital out of it.

In a declaration circulated today the ASP asks who benefits by asserting a false image of the Bulgarian opposition as a "flock of vandals and law-breakers." According to the party led by Prof. Nikolay Vasilev, "If they take the next step and add 'enemies of the people' and 'fascists' such qualifications are used in today's 'DUMA', the analogy with the 1947 crackdown on the opposition would be complete."

The ASP categorically condemns the arson of the BSP headquarters and urges the arsonists to be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

The Alternative Socialist Party believes that the inaction of the Bulgarian Government and of the law-enforcement authorities is suspicious.

DUMA Speaks of 'Anarchy, Hooliganism'

AU2908074890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] What we have long expected has taken place. Those who have been threatening society for weeks on end did not set fire to themselves, but those who urged them on set fire to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] building instead. The flames flared up and consumed all our illusions. If anyone still believes that Sofia is a city of law, he is mistaken. Sofia is under the power of anarchy, hooliganism, and political madness. Today we will certainly be hearing declarations which will attempt to dissociate certain political forces from what has happened. Certainly we will, but the seeds sown by the rallies and speeches of these same political forces are already yielding their poisonous fruit. We do not know how the people from the so-called Town of Truth are feeling, but the truth, the whole truth, the harsh and naked truth showed itself last night in all its wondrous "splendor." Illuminated by its own flames, it can no longer deceive anyone.

The naive or embittered may perhaps continue to think that the destruction and setting fire to the BSP building is an attack only against the Socialists. Blessed are the believers! The fire which the political vandals lit in the center of Sofia is an attack against democracy itself, an attack against everything that is good, healthy, and sensible in society. This fire is difficult to quench, it may ignite Bulgaria.

What have we gotten ourselves into, my fellow democrats?

Fellow countrymen, lift your heads and see the fire in the eyes. Do not fear that you will be blinded. Quite the contrary, it will help you see clearly. Today, your voice of protest must be heard loud and clear. Let the arsonists quake with fear at this voice. Let them realize that Sofia is not a city of anarchy and barbarity. Let them realize that Bulgarian democracy has nothing in common with the "velvet revolution" of certain so-called politicians.

It is time that everyone realized that something terrible is maturing in Bulgaria. It is time for the true democrats, true humanitarians, and true citizens of this long-suffering land to say: Enough! An end to violence! An end to provocations! An end to tolerance of evil! Democracy, true democracy lies in our hands, and we must defend it, otherwise it will be a hard time for this nation, and for those who are deceiving it.

Do not believe, brothers and sisters, that setting the party building on fire is a spontaneous or accidental occurrence. It was prepared for weeks in advance, it was planned, it was organized by cool heads. This changes it from an incident into a doom-laden event. This is what should bring you to your senses.

Come to your senses! Bulgaria, not the BSP, is awaiting your judgment.

Party Papers 'Unanimous' in Criticism

AU2908103690 Sofia BTA in English 0755 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (BTA)—The dailies of all political forces are unanimous in the opinion that the arson of the Party House of the Socialists in Sofia is a barbarous act which harms the young democracy in Bulgaria. And yet mutual accusations and suspicion are not missing in the numerous features on the event which became the focus of the debates in parliament yesterday on the insistence of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The opposition papers DEMOKRATSIYA and SVOBODEN NAROD hold the opinion that the debates on this problem should have taken place after the investigation authorities and the prosecuting magistracy complete their work and after the parliamentary commission of inquiry proposed by the opposition takes a stand on the matter. DEMOKRATSIYA writes: "Yesterday one of the political forces decided once more to draw its ideological swords instead of waiting for evidence." SVOBODEN NAROD notes: "The in-principle qualification of the arson as an encroachment upon democracy failed to cover the ambition of the "Red" to draw political dividends." ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME points out that all political forces without exception have been inflicted great moral damage because now everybody suspects the others. DUMA expresses regret that once again the parliamentary debates were not good-mannered. There were unworthy and ungrounded hints and attacks against the Socialist Party, the paper of the Socialists writes.

Besides, DUMA stresses the fact that Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, leader of the Podkrepa Confederation of Labour, who was in the square before the BSP building was set on fire, made an ultimatum for removing the pentacle from the Party House by 2140 hrs. Later on he refused to comply with the plea of Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev to address the crowd on TV and calm it. It is announced that Dr. Trenchev hinted before the vice president that in this situation "a strong presidential power" was needed.

Commenting on the arson, NARODNA ARMIYA underlines that the last hopes for an unclouded and painless transition to a normal democratic society have been burnt. This act is indicative of another variant: obtaining "absolute victory," which actually means civil war and, subsequently, martial law, which can be qualified in no other way but as national suicide, the paper writes.

All papers carry yesterday's statement of the spokesman of the president in which a report is made of the chronology of the measures taken by the presidential institution to tackle the situation.

The reports in all papers leave open the question as to why the law enforcement authorities did not act efficiently enough on the night of the arson.

'Radicals' Accept Basis of BSP Draft Platform

AU2808164090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
26 Aug 90 p 2

[Vasil Popov report]

[Text] On 25 August the Coordinating Council of the Movement for Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held the movement's second national conference, at which they discussed and adopted a resolution concerning the BSP's draft program for the further renewal and transformation of that party into a modern left party of democratic socialism.

The radicals accept and support the program, but within the framework of the nationwide party discussion and of the points with which they are in agreement. They find that the document is still immature and bears the stamp of compromise; it contains no realistic assessment of the present political situation, no self-critical evaluation of the state of the party, nor any in-depth analysis of the society which has evolved during the past decades. Its attitude to Marxism-Leninism as a theory and practical course of action is not complete, and the essence of concept of democratic socialism, which is unfamiliar to Bulgarian society, needs to be expounded in more depth.

The stated position points out that the platform does not provide clear answers to two problems, namely the state of the BSP organization and the need for cadre renewal. In addition, one detects a striving to achieve unity at any price, instead of unity on a well-understood and principled ideological foundation. The platform fails to delineate the stages in the party's actions for its own transformation.

The radicals do not claim to possess perfect answers to all these issues. This is quite natural, because the movement is neither a faction not one of the wings of the BSP, but expresses the party's true aspiration for change. The conference formulated 12 theses for radical change.

ASO Satisfied With Draft

AU2808190290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
23 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "ASO Considers BSP Platform a Good Basis of Discussion"]

[Text] The Political Council of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] greeted with the satisfaction the draft platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Despite the delay in its publication,the platform is a step forward toward true renewal of the party. The platform's general spirit is sincerely democratic and reflects to a large degree the complexity of ideological and political values of the modern European leftist political culture. The platform directs the party toward becoming a party of a new parliamentary, democratic type. This presupposes a new understanding of its sociopolitical role and the necessity of conceiving a new organizational party structure. Those aspects correspond to the main analytical parts of the ASP platform. ASO will continue to discuss the party's ideological foundations with a view to comprehensively assessing bolshevism, the contemporary attitude to Marxism, the harmonious combination of socialism with science, characteristic of the modern social democracy.

Those elements can find their place in the final draft of the platform. The consequences of the practical actions which stem from the platform itself could be a subject of a discussion. The opinion presented by ASO's Political Council is merely the basis of discussion the proposed document within the faction and the party.

Assembly Member Khristova Announces Hunger Strike

AU2708204190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
2000 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] This evening, Mariyana Khristova, 41, member of the Grand National Assembly, representative of the 50th Pleven single-member constituency and member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] parliamentary group, mother of two children, told a BTA reporter that she is begining an indefinite hunger strike.

This will be her protest against the civic tension that has emerged in the country and Sofia. The civic tension is created by political forces which have specific political intentions, and utilize street pressure, political blackmail, and physical violence for the achievement of their goals in the Grand National Assembly.

Her hunger strike represents a protest against the toleration of antidemocratic manifestations in the country and against the failure of the chairman of the Republic to implement his constitutional functions on the basis of

Article 92, paragraph one of the Constitution, and the violation of his oath given to the Grand National Assembly. The hunger strike also is a protest against the failure of the prime minister to implement his functions on the basis of 103, paragraphs six and seven of the Constitution, and the failure of the minister of internal affairs to implement his functions. This is what Mariyana Khristova stated in her declaration.

Zhelev Recalls 1968 CSFR Invasion as 'Crime'

AU2708182290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed CTK report: "Bulgarian President on 21 August 1968: A Crime Against Norms and Principles"]

[Text] Sofia— "The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states in August 1968 was, in my opinion, one of the most tragic events not only in the life of your country, but also of Eastern Europe and the whole continent," Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Bulgarian People's Republic, told CTK correspondent Vera Ivanovicova in an interview.

Asked about his evaluation of the events of 22 years ago as a philosopher and politician and about the political and moral lesson from them for the future development in Europe and in Bulgaria, he replied that even after 22 years, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the [Warsaw Pact] troops still represents for him a crime against the norms and principles of international life and against the natural endeavor of a European nation with a rich culture and traditions to join the world democracies.

President Zhelev pointed out that the Prague Spring of 1968 aroused the hopes of democratic forces in other European countries, including the Soviet Union. But Czechoslovakia fell victim to the then political realities and, above all, to the policy of limited sovereignty practiced by the then Soviet leadership in cooperation with the leaderships of the other Warsaw Pact countries, including Bulgaria's. In a certain sense, the Prague Spring was doomed to failure in advance, but it is precisely the political and moral lesson from this event that has proved to be extraordinarily rich and fruitful.

According to the Bulgarian president, the invasion meant, first and foremost, the ultimate political and moral discreditation of the totalitarian regimes of Eastern Europe, which did not shy away from resorting to military aggression to maintain the status quo in the so-called socialist camp. "We all recall the wave of indignation which this act triggered among the democratic forces in Europe. It rid a number of important intellectuals in the West and in the East of ideas which were associated at that time with the regimes in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries," he said.

The Bulgarian president expressed the view that this event greatly contributed to the loss of political illusions which had still existed among the general public in Eastern and Western Europe until that time. It was such a blow to the prestige of the communist and procommunist parties, in Western Europe, for example, that they have, in fact, never recovered from this.

"The Prague Spring was a time of hope for us. The greatest of them was the hope of combining freedom with socialism. Not we, but others, decided that this symbiosis was not possible. We are only left with the conclusion," Zhelyu Zhelev stressed.

"We can express regret and apologize today but what happened cannot be undone. The only comfort to me is that no reasonable person would think of identifying the Bulgarian people with the then Government of the Bulgarian People's Republic," the president said.

BZNS Position on Possible Merger Discussed

AU2908112790 Sofia BTA in English 1051 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (BTA)—Today's ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, the paper of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), carries the stand of the BZNS Standing Committee taken on August 27 as to its merger with the opposition Nikola Petkov BZNS.

The position of the BZNS expressed in it is that the unification is solely possible if it is built on the basis of mutual respect. After the merger the Agrarian Party should be an absolutely independent political organization in alliance with all democratic forces and working with the Union of Democratic Forces in united opposition for the complete dismantling of the totalitarian system. (The position of the Nikola Petkov BZNS is that the unification can and should take place only within the framework of the Union of Democratic Forces. In its paper NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME the BZNS Nikola Petkov repeatedly blames the BZNS for not having distanced itself completely from the formerly Communist, now Socialist, Party with which it was in coalition until November 10, 1989).

In the stand published today the BZNS declares once again it has entered upon a new stage of its historical development as an independent political organization.

Despite the differences, working groups of the two agrarian parties are discussing the way in which the unification could be carried out.

Army Personnel From Samokov Petition President

AU2808152190 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Unrest among the commissioned and noncommissioned officers in connection with reforms and true depolitization in the Army is evidently increasing.

Some proposals made are that the minister of defense should be a highly-qualified, untainted civilian of not more than 55 years of age, with training in legal and economic affairs; the KSV [expansion unknown] echelon should be eliminated as superfluous; the numbers of generals should be cut by 30 percent by retiring all generals over 60; and senior officers over 50, and noncommissioned officers with 20 years' service should be retired. These and other proposals were sent to Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and to the chairman of National Assembly, by 35 servicemen from the Samokov Garrison, including Major Gradinarov, Sergeant Major Demov, Major Geshev, Captain Zhivkov, Lieutenant Filchev, Colonel Keremidchiyski, and others. Their letter calls for a ban on membership in any political party and a start to be made on dismantling totalitarian structures and making the transition to a professional Army. Initiatives are put forward which will ensure a reduction in the average age of personnel, savings in money and materials, and so forth.

New Reservoir Restores Water Supply to Kurdzhali

AU2808145890 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
23 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Kurdzhali, 22 Aug (TRUD correspondent Petur Rashkov)—During these summer days many towns are all too aware of the lack of drinking water. Rationing has been introduced in many regions, and people impatiently wait for the two or three-hours during the day when the life-giving stream begins to flow. Until recently, Kurdzhali was subject to rationing, but the commissioning of the Borovitsa Reservoir has meant that normal water supplies to the town have been restored. Every second, 400 liters of water arrives in the town. The sink faucets can only "dry up" in the event of a breakdown. "People may really envy us in this respect," say the inhabitants of the southern town.

Parliament's Condemnation of Iraq Criticized

AU2808181790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
27 Aug 90 p 2

[Nikola Zakhariev article: "Frivolously Playing With Bulgaria's Interests]

[Text] After the safe return of more than 300 of our compatriots from Kuwait, now it seems that dozens of those remaining, who were supposed to return via Baghdad and Turkey, have been stopped. This might have been expected, and the reason does not lie in the prompt and appropriate view adopted by the government and the president in connection with Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. There can be no doubt that the change in Iraq's behavior is a result of the unbridled reaction of certain highly respected members from the right wing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] during the foreign policy debates in the Grand National Assembly.

It is unheard of in the annals of international relations for the head of state of one country to be publicly called a cannibal in the parliament of another country, moreover a country with which we have normal diplomatic relations, without provoking a counteraction. In such cases, countries of the rank of France and the FRG do not permit themselves to act like this, but it seems that some of us have decided once again to be more catholic than the devil's pope.

No one needs to become a Cassandra in order to foresee that this is only the first, and perhaps not the most serious, consequence of the abuse against foreign countries which poured out from the speaker's rostrum of our supreme legislative organ.

A gentleman member from the right of the party decided to amaze Bulgaria and the world by repealing at a stroke, without right of appeal, multilateral and bilateral treaties to which our state has appended its signature, and upon which our national security and 80 percent of our economy still largely rest.

Furthermore, the opposition deputies applauded the call to enter another multilateral alliance [NATO] (although in fact no one is inviting us) without considering that membership of this alliance did not prevent our two southern neighbors [Greece and Turkey] from reaching the brink of declaring war upon each other; nor did it help one of them to join the EC.

The issue here, gentlemen deputies of the opposition, is one of strategic balance; this does not mean sitting between two stools, but farsightedly bringing the two pans of the scale into equilibrium, upon which security, peace, and cooperation will be built in the future in Europe and the world.

Accordingly, the issue is an extremely serious one, and is becoming a fateful one. We not only run the risk of not getting our compatriots back, but also the billions of dollars which Iraq owes us. We risk not being able to sell any more chickens for petroleum to the only country which at the moment buys the one and sells the other to us. Moreover, it is not only a question of chickens and petroleum, but also of ores, cellulose, and timber...all materials worth their weight in gold, in return for goods for which we cannot find a market anywhere else—even in return for razor blades.

Crises come and go, but countries remain. This is why we need a equal, balanced, and farsighted policy, of the kind for which both the president and the government plead.

Gentlemen deputies, you are badly preparing the president's way to Moscow, to which he is invited, according to the words of his official spokesman. Perhaps some people may want to directly dissuade him from this trip with the furious shouts, which we heard in parliament: "The road to Europe does not run through Moscow."

Today all roads lead to the European home, and none of them should be blocked by national disobedience groups.

It is high time, gentlemen of the right, to sit down together in the working commissions—behind closed doors, if necessary—and to soberly discuss in a businesslike manner how to protect Bulgaria's interests and fate. Whether the National Assembly will indeed prove to be great will be judged from deeds and results, not from speeches made on rostrums, in squares, on small screens, and with the help of megaphones.

UK, U.S. Economists Work on 'Crisis Management'

AU2808114690 Sofia BTA in English 1101 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Yet Another Crisis Management Plan"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)—The group for independent analysis and forecasts may come up with a crisis management and marketization program for Bulgaria, its leaders said today.

For the time being Prof. William Desmond McForen, a British expert on East-West political and economic relations, has come up with a plan based on fast privatization.

By the beginning of October a group of U.S. experts will also submit such a plan to the Bulgarian Government. They will work on it together with their Bulgarian colleagues. The Americans, led by Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, visited Sofia last week for talks with government officials and Bulgarian business executives.

The Grand National Assembly Economic Committee is also busy drafting an economic reform project.

At this point the group for independent analysis and forecasts recommends an urgent price reform which should leave intact earned personal savings, for instance, housing accounts, and should hit the nomenklatura and speculative capital, which have been recently merging.

The independent experts are categorical: The Bulgarian economy should open up and foreign trade must be demonopolized. Besides, they want equal rights in privatization and an up-to-date safety net for consumers. The experts say that legislation should be enacted to determine the state intervention for economic incentive and especially taxation, the regulation of money circulation and of the public debt.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit

Statement Upon Arrival

LD2708225190 Budapest MTI in English 2206 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, August 27 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minster Geza Jeszenszky, who arrived on an offical visit to Prague on Monday evening, gave a brief statement to journalists. He said that in the first place he was curious to find out about the Czech-Slovak relations, and the status of the federation.

He said there were a number of questions for which it was necessary to find out who was responsible: the federal government or the Slovak Government.

Mr Jeszenszky said he felt the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam issue went beyond Slovak-Hungarian relations at any rate, and was of Central European significance.

He said he wanted to discuss issues concerning Slovakia with the Slovakian leaders. He also mentioned that in the course of September he would have several opportunities to visit Slovakia.

All in all, Mr Jeszenszky expected genuine talks and a progress in bilateral relations from his talks on Tuesday.

Received by Officials

LD2808144990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official visit, was received in Prague today by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the federal government and minister of foreign affairs.

Their talks were described by Lubos Dobrovsky, deputy minister and spokesman of the ministry of foreign affairs, as smooth and free of problems. One of the most important questions, which was dealt with in a very positive way, was the decision to create a mixed Czechslovak-Hungarian commission of experts within six weeks at the latest; this commission will concern itself with the entire issue of mutual relations between both states. Both ministers agreed that all affairs concerning the rights of national minorities will be dealt with multilaterally, in harmony with the principles of the proposals put forth by the five-member group at the last meeting on the human dimension in Copenhagen, the international pact on human rights, and the European convention on human rights. Both ministers also expressed the views of their governments on future solutions to the completion of the construction of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station.

Geza Jeszenszky, through Jiri Dienstbier, handed over letters to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, and to Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa from Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Both representatives also spoke about future joint action in the effort to join the European Community, in transforming the Warsaw Pact, and in solving problems emerging from the breakup of CEMA.

Interviewed on Prague Talks

LD2808215890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on his 28 August visit to Prague by Evelyn Forro on 28 August in Prague—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Forro] You said yesterday that first of all, you want to clarify what belongs under the authority of the federal government and what under the Slovak cabinet. What was the result of this search?

[Jeszenszky] We had one and half hours altogether, and the circle of questions was so large that we decided not to get involved in the details; this has to be left to the three parties, the federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments. I think that clarification of this has not been completed between the three parties. However, we start from the premise, which was also mentioned by Foreign Minister Dienstbier here at the news conference, that the international affairs, the international contracts are under federative authority.

In our opinion, the minority question itself is also an issue which cannot be removed from the scope of authority of the federal government. What is more, the Slovak stance emphasizes this—this is a relatively recent development, since earlier their stance was that there could be no question of discussing minority issues because they are internal affairs. This cannot be maintained in this day and age. Changes have taken place such that this is not a bilateral affair anymore, but a multilateral issue.

I welcome this on the one hand, because it was always my conviction that it is both easier and more desirable if general international norms develop regarding the question of minorities. Thus, in light of this too, this cannot be limited only to Slovak-Magyar talks.

At the same time, the stance of the federal government is also important when one considers that matters cannot just stagnate until such a precise international or European settlement is created. So, precisely for this reason we consider it also very important to carry out talks about this, both with the Czechoslovak Government on a federal level, perhaps applying a more general approach, and also with the Slovak Government on more detailed questions.

[Forro] Did you get some sort of guarantee for this, since it was not long ago that President Havel promised to annul the Kosice government program and eliminate the principle of collective responsibility, and the Magyar nationality would be given collective rights? However, Meciar, the Slovak head of government, has categorically rejected this recently. He said that basic human rights will be guaranteed to the Magyar minority. Forgive me, but from where I stand, this is very little.

[Jeszenszky] It is very little, the way I see it too. However, you can imagine that such a short meeting which dealt with many other questions too, is not at all suitable to come to an agreement regarding this. Even if we would have come to an agreement on some points of details and if the Czechoslovak representatives would have signed a document which we had prepared, this still would not have meant a solution because, obviously, it would not have been accepted by the Slovak party.

We came to an agreement—and I consider this very important, I could say as a result—that it is really high time that these questions are discussed on an expert level and solutions found. Originally, we talked about a smaller committee, a mixed committee, between the two countries with the participation of Slovak and federative representatives separately—this is a minor detail from our point of view—which would deal especially with the questions of the minorities.

The Czechoslovak proposal was that this should be a wider committee; it should also deal with other questions. We consider this to be acceptable, but so that this committee should not founder on some level of generalities, I suggested that there be subcommittees which deal with the individual areas. For just this reason, it is not high-level talks which are now needed—up to now the two heads of state, Arpad Goncz and Havel, have met four times in the past months. So, I think we now have to go down to that lower level where there can be tangible results. And I hope that this present meeting too, will give the mandate, so to speak, to these negotiations. Such a mandate will not be given solely by this meeting, but it contributes to making clear what needs to be clarified, what questions of detail need to be clarified. An experts' meeting of this nature will not bring results within a few hours, but within a few days the solution can perhaps be worked out if both sides, or all three sides, have the sincere good intention, and they take seriously respect for these European norms.

[Forro] Without prying into the details—obviously you do not have separate time for this either—but as foreign minister, I would like to know your opinion. You, too, know that a language law is being prepared which wishes to make Slovak the exclusive official language. They say that this does not infringe upon international agreements. What is your opinion of this from the point of view of diplomatic history, of international law?

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted containing a historical reference to previous laws in Czechoslovakia and Hungary regulating minority rights] If we look at this from a historical point of view, or in an international comparison of modern European countries with developed legal systems, then I have to say that the stance we have now heard based on the press is without precedent. I do not think that the Slovak parliament will accept this.

[Forro] That is, this road does not lead into Europe.

[Jeszenszky] I do not wish to word things so strongly now; I do not wish to make anybody's situation harder, but let us stay with these concrete facts: This does not correspond to Czechoslovak traditions, to Hungarian traditions, nor to today's European practice.

[Forro] Can the Boes water barrage be a Slovak internal matter? For it is a question of international waters.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, I think that this, too, is unequivocal: This cannot in any way be a Slovak internal matter. First of all, there is a contract which Hungary signed with the Czech and Slovak Federal Government. This question is not just a matter of energy; it is a matter of environmental protection. The arguments against, in connection with the power station itself, are based predominantly on environmental protection considerations, though there are other aspects too, such as earthquakes. But looked at on this basis, too, it goes even further than the borders of the two countries. For example, the endangering of the fresh water supply, the underwater fresh water supply, which seems to be a very realistic danger, affects not just Slovakia, but the whole of Europe—for the ever-increasing pollution or lack of fresh water is a European problem. So while in the developed countries in Europe a very important change of attitude has taken place, and the narrow, technical, engineering points of view—the points of view of energy—have been replaced by a much wider ecological attitude, it would be anachronistic if here, in this part of Europe—just having been liberated from the political and economic forms forced upon us—if here a attitude were to be retained which [word indistinct] has been lost in the Soviet Union, too. [passage omitted]

[Forro] My last question concerns the fact that you have plans to hold talks with the representative of the Slovak Government. Is there anything concrete as to where and when you will get into contact?

[Jeszenszky] The difficulty I see here is that from the Hungarian side there have been too many invitations, and perhaps some confusion could arise from this, too, as to who the invitations are for, and when. I myself, when I accepted the invitation of the deputy premier, the foreign minister, separately asked to have forwarded through our Bratislava Consulate that even if I could not visit Bratislava now, I very much hope that this could take place in the near future, this year still. But independently of this we would be very pleased—personally, too—to see the representatives of the Slovak Government in Budapest. It must be clarified, on the basis of obligations and so on, what the best solution would be: to come to Budapest or have it in Bratislava. We do not consider this to be a significant question. What we consider important is that we should meet. But, I add, as we have been speaking about this, what is important is not the fact of meeting; what is important is that this meeting bring certain results, so it would be good if this were to take place after preparations. Put in other words, it is very important that this meeting have tangible results.

Meets Deputy Premier

LD2808204190 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)—Visiting Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszeszky and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko presented during their meeting here today proposals for cooperation in care for national minorities in the two countries.

The Hungarian side is ready to open as many Slovak schools on its territory as necessary and has no objections to the opening of a Slovak cultural centre in any Hungarian town with numerous Slovak population, Jeszenszky stressed.

Miklosko voiced similar effort of the Czehcoslovak Government to remove the inherited obstacles hindering good neighbourly cooperation. Concrete proposals should ensue from the debates of a mixed Czechoslovak-Hungarian commission to meet in future weeks.

MTI Comments on Jeszenszky Visit

LD2808204590 Budapest MTI in English 1812 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, August 28 (MTI)—One of the results of the Czechoslovakian-Hungarian foreign ministerial talks held in Prague on Tuesday was an agreement to launch expert talks on bilateral issues within a few weeks. This fact was announced by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at the international press conference held jointly with Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovakian minister for foreign affairs.

Mr. Jeszenszky also said that while some of the questions involve the Czech and Slovakian Federal Government and the Hungarian Government, there are also issues to be negotiated between the Hungarian and the Slovakian Governments in the next few weeks and at a very high level.

Mr Jeszenszky said that no difference of views appeared between the sides at the Tuesday talks. "However, we had to define the area the soon-to-be set up joint committee of experts should be in charge of, and whether individual questions, including the position of national minorities in the two countries, should be discussed by a special sub-committee. As regards the dam project on the Danube, we said that it was undoubtedly an issue for the federal government, nay beyond that even, for Europe as well," said Mr. Jeszenszky.

The Hungarian foreign minister said he had the impression that there would be an agreement on the issue of the minorities, too. Consequently, parallel approaches are needed. On the one hand, a solution should be sought on the basis of European norms and within the European framework, on the other hand, the sides should not wait for the creation of the European charter, but engage in bilateral talks. As regards the latter, it could even mean bilateral talks twice, namely between Budapest and the Czechoslovakian Federal Government and between Budapest and the Slovakian Government.

In answer to the question whether Hungary recognized the Trianon Treaty, Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian foreign minister, emphatically said that from the point of view of the Budapest leadership, the concern over the fate of the Hungarian minority was not a border issue.

The Hungarian foreign minister drew attention to the fact that the Trianon Treaty was no longer valid, and it was the 1947 treaty and the clause of the Helsinki Final Act on prohibiting any violent change of borders which Hungary wished to recognize and comply with.

In reply to a question, Mr. Jeszenszky called the Warsaw Treaty a forcefully set-up and superfluous organization. He also confirmed Hungary's intention to leave the pact by the end of the year. "The Warsaw Treaty must be replaced by an all-European security system", he stressed.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister also pointed to the fact that during the talks the sides had managed to reach a common position on every issue. He added that the soon-to-be set-up joint committee of experts should work out its reccomendations with respect to bilateral interests.

As Lubos Dobrovsky, Czechoslovakian deputy foreign minister, who also participated in the talks held at the Foreign Ministry, said the joint committee would be in charge of specific political, economic, environmental and nationality questions. Mr. Dobrovsky also regarded the meeting as free of any problems.

In the course of the meeting, Mr. Jeszenszky forwarded Arpad Goncz's letter to Vaclav Havel and Jozsef Antall's letter to Marian Calfa.

CTK reports that agreement was reached for a visit by Josef Vavrousek, Czehcoslovak minister without portfolio, to hold negotiations on the Gabcikovo Dam issue.

The Hungarian foreign minister, in Prague since Monday, had dinner with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart on the eve of the Tuesday talks. In the course of the dinner, they held an exchange of views on the history of the two countries.

After the press conference on Tuesday, Geza Jeszenszky was received by Jozef Miklosko, Czechoslovak federal deputy prime minister. In the course of the meeting with this high-ranking Slovak politician, the Hungarian motion that Slovak social organizations, including for example the Matica Slovenska, should give assistance to the Slovak community in Hungary and that a Slovak cultural institute should be set up in Bekescsaba was well received.

The Slovak language law currently in the drafting stage was also touched upon. It will declare Slovak a "state language". Mr. Miklosko said it would provide for certain exceptions in an effort not to put the Hungarian population at a disadvantage.

At the conclusion of hte talks, Mr. Jeszenszky laid a bouquet of flowers at a memorial plaquet to the Czech orders in the square where twenty-seven patriots were executed for the freedom of the Czech monarchy on June 21, 1621. They also included Jan Jesensky, one of the ancestors of the Hungarian foreign minister.

This was the end to the official visit, and the Hungarian delegation left for Budapest. Mr. Jeszenszky remained in Prague to attend on Wednesday an international seminar held by the American Aspen Institute on East European changes.

Jeszensky on Slovak-Hungarian Relations

AU2808132590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Aug 90 pp 1,5

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky by Tibor Ferko; place and date not given: "Directly Without Intermediaries"—first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky will soon visit Czechoslovakia. In this connection, we asked him for a short interview.

[Ferko] It cannot be pleasant to visit a neighboring country where people are familiar with your alleged comment about the necessity of annexing the territory it took over following the Trianon Treaty. Slovak Premier V. Meciar made a statement on this issue which the leading Budapest dailies published on Tuesday [21 August] via the Hungarian Press Agency. How are we to explain this?

[Jeszensky] I am primarily interested in what the premier had in mind and on what basis he came to the conclusion that I made this comment. I asked this question when the issue cropped up in the Hungarian press. I think it is, therefore, essential for the Slovak public to know that the Hungarian foreign minister did not express this opinion. Mutual trust and mutual correctness are vital elements in our relationship. There are journalists in the Hungarian press who should be more responsible. We can, however, certainly say the same thing about some representatives of the Czech and Slovak press.... Such risks come with freedom of the press. I would rather not associate this issue with freedom of the press, but with what the press indulges itself in saying. Sometimes it says things about something that did not happen. Thus, it is possible to imagine that the Slovak premier received groundless information. It should be essential for press representatives to be absolutely aware that they are often playing with their countries' fate when they add—or vaguely formulate—just one word.

[Ferko] When you became a minister, you underlined in an interview with our newspaper your idea for building bridges instead of barriers. Not much time has passed since then, but in our relations it looks as if we are merely putting up more barriers and not bridges. It is high time for us to oppose the extreme ideas of individuals and groups.

[Jeszensky] I am traveling to Prague for this very reason and, therefore, I await with pleasure the arrival of representatives of the Slovak Government in Hungary—for example, my colleague Mr. Carnogursky to whom I can speak without an interpreter in English. Indeed, I think it is extremely essential to hold talks at a senior level; this has to be a discussion among experts. When negotiations are held between intermediaries alone, everything is left to them and we will only talk to each other via the press. This is not a favorable solution. We must also be aware that a high-level meeting alone is not sufficient for us to make the decisive turnaround as not only the awkward issues in our relationship are involved; simply, there are other issues to be resolved. It is necessary to talk about them sensibly, among a wider range of people. Meetings have to be given their turn, and we have to prepare for them very carefully. It is important to adhere to those principles which both our countries have publicly acknowledged, that is, democracy and merging into Europe. When we take this seriously, then—in my opinion—the issues which intrinsically concern us will not only be resolved, but it will also be possible to improve our relations. Despite this, however, I do not consider these relations to be under a serious threat. It is important for us not to become hysterical about this—which sometimes happens—so that we do not send a signal of impending catastrophe to our fellow citizens. When we take the minorities' problem seriously—the issue does not only involve this, but involves a whole series of issues—then relations between our states could even be very good.

Hungary, Hungarian Minority Leader Decried

AU2808134290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 23 August on page 11 publishes a 2,000-word petition signed by "a group of our citizens" and sent to the UN Commission for Human Rights in Geneva, the European Parliament in Strasbourg, and the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen. The petition "draws attention to the violation of the human rights of the Slovak ethnic minority in Hungary and to the negative impact of Hungary on nationality relations in Czechoslovakia" and asks the above international organizations and forums to "make sure that this situation is set right." In the same issue, on pages 7 and 11, NARODNA OBRODA also publishes a series of readers' letters, totalling 2,000 words, which protest against statements made by Miklos Duray, leader of the Hungarian minority's "Coexistence" movement, and against what is perceived as the "suppression" of Slovaks in Hungarian-dominated parts of southern Slovakia.

The petition of the Slovak citizens (the number of its signatories is not mentioned) juxtaposes the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia with that of the Slovak minority in Hungary. It cites various statistical data on the steady decline of the number of Slovaks in Hungary, which it attributes to the "policy of enforced denationalization" practiced by Hungary. The figures published in the petition show that the official number of Slovaks in Hungary decreased from 473,552 in 1946 to 9,101 in 1980 (73,273 of them were repatriated to Slovakia). The petition also claims that, during the last census, only between 10 and 15 percent of Slovaks in Hungary acknowledged their Slovak nationality "out of fear for their existence" and because of the "provocative formulation" of the questions. The actual number of Slovaks in Hungary is put at 110,000.

This development is then contrasted with the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, whose number has increased from 518,782 in 1961 to 577,614 in 1989. The petition also contains figures which are said to prove that the rights of ethnic minorities in Slovakia "far exceed" those of ethnic minorities in Hungary. Whereas the Hungarians in Slovakia have 386 kindergartens, 243 primary schools, 96 secondary and vocational schools, two theaters, and 24 periodicals, Slovaks in Hungary are said to have only one weekly and one quarterly and no schools of their own.

The petition also protests against the "unwarranted interference of Hungary in internal Czechoslovak affairs." It claims that, "since the start of the process of democratization, in particular," Hungarian government representatives and Hungarian media have been "inciting the Hungarian minority in the ethnically mixed areas of southern Slovakia" with the aim of "escalating its discontent."

In concluding, the authors of the petition express their expectation that the international organizations will "objectively ascertain" the state of minority rights in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, will "inform the world public" about their findings, and will "take measures aimed at setting the situation right."

The readers' letters published by NARODNA OBRODA focus on recent pronouncements by Miklos Duray, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Hungarian minority's "Coexistence" movement. Ludovit Babic, whose 600-word letter is published on page 7, takes issues with Duray's demand, reportedly raised in a radio interview, that construction of the Gabcikovo dam on the Danube be immediately halted. Babic asserts that Gabcikovo is "vitally important for Slovakia" because it is its "cleanest and most promising source of energy." Duray's attitude shows, according to the reader, that he and his party "are not overly concerned about life in the Slovak Republic and do not care about the Slovak economy." Another reader, Vladimir Kracina from Zvolen, asks: "Can there be a greater fascist than someone who publicly proclaims the theory that mixed Slovak-Hungarian families produce less valuable children, as Miklos Duray does with impunity? What merit can a person have who preaches nationalistic, chauvinistic, and fascist theories and who loathes the language of the nation on whose territory he lives?" Still another reader says that he finds Miklos Duray's "attitudes offensive" and complains that leaders of Duray's "Coexistence" movement in her village have closed down the Slovak primary school and introduced purely Hungarian broadcasts on the local radio. The grievance that people who do not speak Hungarian are "discriminated against" in southern Slovakia is echoed also in other letters.

Havel Spokesman Gives Press Briefing

LD2708133490 Prague CTK in English 1154 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—The popularity of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel among the people is still great, his press secretary Michael Zantovsky told journalists today referring to polls conducted in July.

He admitted that although 60 per cent of the population "fully support" him, it is less than before. The drop is combined with an increase in the group which "rather trusts" him. The number of people who distrust the president has not changed, according to Zantovsky, and is relatively small.

The press secretary commented on Italian press reports that some prominent Italian politicians cooperated with Czechoslovak intelligence. He described the "Orfei affair", as it has become known according to the political scientist allegedly involved in it, as "leak of intelligence information from files which should have been destroyed roughly two years ago".

"The materials are most probably authentic and the affair is currently being investigated by the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry inspection, which is trying to find out if the leak occurred before November 17, 1989 or after it and who was responsible", Zantovsky said.

He announced that investigation is also underway into former cooperation between Czechoslovak security forces and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The investigation is conducted by the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry and it will have to ask for cooperation also for instance Italian security bodies.

Zantovsky also commented on the commemoration of Andrej Hlinka, Slovak priest-politician between the two world wars, in Ruzomberok, West Slovakia at the weekend. Besides manifestations of nationalism also attacks against Vaclav Havel as Czechoslovak president were heard there.

According to Zantovsky, "the celebrations were not marked precisely by an atmosphere full of accord and peace". However, we must get used to such things because "demonstrations of disagreeing groups belong to life in a democratic country and should be ascribed only such weight as they really have".

The spokesman announced that on August 28 President Havel would leave for a two-day visit to Oslo, to attend the "anatomy of hate" conference. He will meet Norwegian writers and attend a reception at the French Embassy at which French President Francois Mitterrand will decorate 1986 American nobel peace prize winning author Elie Wiesel with the legion of Honour order. On Wednesday, Vaclav Havel will have breakfast with Norwegian Premier Jan Peder Syse before returning to Czechoslovakia.

He will go to Banska Bystrica to participate in the celebrations of the 46th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, the greatest Slovak anti-fascist action.

On August 30, the president will attend a ball at the Polish Embassy to mark the 10th anniversary of Solidarity.

On September 1, Vaclav Havel will meet seven American senators headed by Robert Dole, a republican, at his private country resort at Hradecek, East Bohemia. He will also receive former U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia William Luers.

On Sunday, September 2, Vaclav Havel will have lunch with leading Czechoslovak economists.

President Havel's 21 Aug Speech Criticized

AU2808121990

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers between 22 and 25 August publish commentaries on President Vaclav Havel's speech of 21 August, made on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. They also comment on the resignation of Frantisek Cuba from the post of chairman of the Slusovice cooperative on 22 August, linking it to President Havel's criticism of the Slusovice farm in his 21 August speech.

Most commentaries respond to those passages in Havel's speech in which he called for the continuation of the Czechoslovak revolution to definitely "break the old totalitarian structures."

While some newspapers (SVOBODNE SLOVO of 23 August, for example) support what they describe as Havel's call for a "second revolutionary wave," other commentaries are more critical.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 August, page one, carries a 400-word Zdenek Porybny commentary entitled "Changes and People." Referring to Havel's call for the destruction of the "old structures" and for the "flexible replacement of the incapable or sabotaging nomenklatura," Porybny wonders "who will decide who is an incorrigible 'old structure' that needs to be smashed and who will be given a chance in the 'new structures.'" Porybny warns that Czechoslovak society has already lost too many talented people in several waves of purges and suggests that "the effort to reach broad national consensus, rather than intolerance" are needed for the success of the upcoming reforms in Czechoslovakia.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 23 August, page one, carries a 500-word Radovan Muska commentary entitled "Nice-Sounding Words Will Not Help." Muska believes that Havel's 21 August speech was "more dramatic than presidential" as "it was guided more by the effort to affect feelings and to newly inflame the cooling revolutionary blood than by a genuine endeavor to destroy the powerful clans of the mafia of the old order. This is supported by the fact that the president considered it necessary to take recourse to some formulations which sounded nice, but which were inaccurate and unconvincing to say the least." Muska believes, for example, that Havel's complaint about the "surviving old structures" in the enterprises should have been addressed to parliament, as it was the "post-revolutionary legislator" who passed the amendment to the law on state enterprises under which enterprise directors are appointed rather than elected. Muska suggests that, if he really wants to change something, President Havel should initiate the necessary legislative changes instead of "devoting efforts to his own popularity" and "seeking cheap success with nice-sounding words and popular phrases." Muska also calls it "strange" that, as his speech revealed, "the president evidently does not know that—for some time already—enterprises are not forced to let foreign trade enterprises take parasitical advantage of them because they can sell their products on their own."

Similar objections to President Havel's speech are raised also by Marcela Doleckova in Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 23 August, page one. In a 500-word commentary entitled "Dilatoriness Does Not Pay," Doleckova says that "the anniversary speech creates the impression of pouring oil on the flames of a nervous atmosphere." She also calls "some pronouncements in President Havel's speech debatable." The author agrees, for example, with Havel's "justified complaints" about the bloated bureaucracy in the Restaurants and Public Catering and Interhotel Companies, but wonders whether the president expects the waiters and waitresses to overthrow their management—or even blow up their head office and divide the restaurants and hotels among themselves. She draws attention to the fact that it is the government that is to blame for the present situation—because of its failure so far to agree on privatization—and that "the president's complaints should, therefore, be addressed to the government."

Several commentators also pay attention to the passage in President Havel's speech in which he criticized the Slusovice cooperative and to the subsequent resignation of Frantisek Cuba, the Slusovice chairman.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 25 August, page two, carries a 300-word excerpt from Cuba's resignation speech, made at Slusovice on 22 August. Referring to President Havel's remarks about Slusovice in his 21 August speech, Cuba says: "By [expressing] his negative attitude, President Havel wanted to support changes in our cooperative agricultural combine [DAK]. Because no such changes have occurred so far, 21 auditors were sent to our DAK before the elections, and 17 auditors after the elections. We have been summoned to the prosecutor's office several times. The banks have been instructed not to give us any credits. Enterprises have been called upon not to buy anything from us and not to sell us anything. All these measures have created a very complicated situation for our DAK, which we are overcoming only with great difficulties.

"Yesterday's speech was already the third occasion on which President Havel delivered his negative opinion on Slusovice. He did not beat around the bush, his attack was straightforward. I do not know what measures will follow to enhance the effect of yesterday's speech. I know, however, that the attack is directed primarily against myself.

"I was, am, and will always be interested in the survival, development, and prosperity of DAK Slusovice. To create calm conditions for its existence, I have decided—de facto under the president's decree—to resign from my position."

Several newspaper commentaries deplore Frantisek Cuba's resignation. Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 23 August, page two, carries a 300-word Jaroslava Markova commentary entitled "A Legend Is Leaving?" Markova says that she "does not understand" why Cuba has had to leave. She recalls that after 1969, thanks to Cuba, the Slusovice farm became a refuge for many people who had been expelled from the Communist Party and could not find work elsewhere. Furthermore, she stated that she, as well as other journalists who wanted to "propagate the outstanding results" of the cooperative, were having problems with the Communist Party. Markova deplores that "apparently, today, there is no need for experts" such as Cuba or Frantisek Trnka—a successful Slusovice manager who was recently recalled from the post of federal minister of economy—and warns against "putting at stake the most valuable thing our republic has—people who can and want to work."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 24 August, page two, carries a 600-word Marcela Doleckova commentary entitled "Spirit of Enterprise Versus Morality." Referring to the case of Frantisek Cuba, Doleckova opposes the view that all managers with ties to the "old structures" should have to leave, and that "morality" should be regarded as the chief attribute of a manager. In her opinion, only those managers who owed their position to their party membership card or to highly placed relatives, or who were, themselves, guilty of corruption or some other wrongdoing should be forced to leave. She expresses the fear that, because of "idealistic illusions" about morality, Czechoslovakia will lose many competent people who have achieved outstanding results that are recognized in the world.

Prague VIKEND in Czech on 25 August—the weekend supplement of Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech—publishes on page eight a 3,000-word article by Jindrich Stepanek entitled "A Disadvantage Called Headstart." The article discusses the development of the Slusovice farm since the revolution and praises its rapid adaptation to the conditions of a market economy. Stepanek claims that, thanks to its spirit of enterprise, the Slusovice cooperative has maintained its headstart in comparison to other Czechoslovak enterprises. He believes that this is the reason that "Slusovice is once again in disgrace," just as under the communist regime when "Slusovice was blacklisted for many years." The author deplores that the atmosphere which has been created by President Havel's statements about Slusovice has forced Frantisek Cuba to resign. He says in this context: "The heads of capable people have, unfortunately, been rolling in several waves through our country. The next wave could drown us."

Planning Officials Outline Economic Strategies

LD2708122190 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak federal and national ministers responsible for strategic planning said today that the basic elements of any strategic economic intentions must be conceived in mutual agreement between the federal and the two national governments.

The joint creation of development strategy is all the more necessary that the transition of Czechoslovakia to a market economy assumes a single market open externally and functioning in a single macroeconomic framework.

A communique released by the federal ministry of strategic planning, which is being newly formed, said the prerequisites are a free movement of production factors, goods and services between the two national republics, a single currency, a single balance of payments and unified conditions for the functioning of the economy.

The communique was adopted at the meeting of federal and national ministers responsible for strategic planning, Pavel Hoffman, Karel Dyba and Rudolf Filkus, together with their deputies at Stupava near Bratislava August 23-24 and released today.

It said that the overall strategy will be the result of social consensus achieved during its drafting by the bodies of the federation and the national republics.

The federal ministry of strategic planning will have the coordinating function in the process.

The overall strategy will include medium-term blueprint for the transition to a new type of economy, mainly price deregulation, internal convertibility of the crown [koruna], commercial laws, denationalisation and privatisation, the overall involvement in the world economy, global fiscal, monetary and pension issues, basic infrastructure (including energy), a philosophy of the social policy, economic conditions of state defence and reserve funds.

The national republics will form their own specific policies within the framework of the strategic concepts.

The communique said that some provisions of the draft law on strategic planning must be finalized so that is can be adopted by the Federal Assembly (parliament) as soon as possible.

Army Denies Order To Act Last November

LD2708202890 Prague CTK in English 1550 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Ministry spokesman Colonel Stanislav Pohoral denied in an interview with CTK today that the army had orders to act against a planned student demonstration in November 1989.

Information about the alleged order was given to the daily ZEMEDELSKI NOVINY by ex-Colonel Zbynek Cerovsky and the paper reported it last Saturday.

The spokesman quoted First Deputy Defence Minister, Chief of Staff Anton Slimak, who said in a statement that "the Czechoslovak Army command resolutely rejects claims about an alleged order of the army general staff" designating troops for possible action against anti-socialist and anti-state forces.

"No order of this kind was issued by the Czechoslovak Army General Staff on November 15 or the following days. In the given period, the Czechoslovak Army units carried out planned tasks of training," the statement said.

Army Said Ready To Intervene Last November

AU2808130590

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 25 August on page 1 publishes a 600-word interview with Reserve Colonel Z. Cerovsky, a signatory of the Charter 77 manifesto, by Jan Bauer, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent, entitled "Was the Army Supposed To Intervene?" The interview took place in Prague on 24 August.

Cerovsky explains his visit to the Military Prosecutor's Office, where he made a statement. In it he says that several days ago, he had seen an army general staff document dated November 15 designating troops for possible action "against antisocialist or antistate forces." Cerovsky says he believes that this order was prepared in connection with the approved student demonstration. This, according to Cerovsky, refutes "the frequently repeated view that the Army was not prepared for any action in connection with 17 November." He said that he did not see any signature on the document. Asked why the order was not executed, Cerovsky said that the prepared scenario got out of hand, "following the change in the situation, the decision also changed, and neither the Army nor the People's Militia were used."

Slovak Premier on Minorities, Other Issues

AU2808121890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Transcript of a news conference with Slovak Republic Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Republic Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak in Bratislava on 19 August 1990 (prepared by Alena Melicharkova): "The Government Will Not Hand Out Allocations"]

[Text] [UJ SZO] You have mentioned the constitutional Charter of Human Rights of the citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. In this connection, I would like to ask whether this Charter will contain similar provisions to the constitutional law on nationalities. A second question is: What will be the position of ethnic minorities in the framework of the entire Federation?

[Meciar] The issue of civil rights and liberties adopted in the form of a constitutional norm is a binding regulation for everyone. Civil rights are defined in norms and international agreements. Czechoslovakia subscribed to them in the past, but did not behave accordingly. Differing interpretations of international law and its internal application were the topic of most of the disputes with dissidents. Those responsible for deformations asserted that international obligations were binding for the state, yet that they did not imply any rights or obligations for the citizens. Lawyers who had appealed to international obligations had to leave the legal service because the defense, the act, and the defendant were at odds with the law. Today, we are doing away with this practice in order to document the democracy of our system and to subscribe to international principles while applying them internally. New laws will have greater legal strength. This means that everything that is contradictory to these laws will be rendered invalid. As far as the position of the Hungarian ethnic minorities is concerned, their rights are unequivocally anchored in the Charter.

In Europe, and also in our country, there is a discussion about collective rights of ethnic minorities. The principles of collective rights have not been worked out yet; they have not been adopted internationally, either. The Hungarian Government proposed that we conclude bilateral agreements on collective rights, which we did not accept. We do not want to discuss them bilaterally. This issue can be solved on the basis of multilateral relations. There is no European country that is composed of a single nation. I spoke about it at VPN [Public

Against Violence] meetings before elections, and I am confirming this again. The Slovak Government guarantees that civil and human rights of the members of all ethnic minorities in Slovakia will be respected.

We have the same relations toward the Hungarian ethnic minority as toward our citizens. International relations mean relations toward another country. This is the way we understand these relations. It would be unacceptable for us to allow any contradictions to internationally recognized norms to arise. It is impossible for us to present ourselves to the European public as a nation that does not know how to adapt to such norms. Finally, any realistically thinking Slovak politician must take into account that Slovaks in the Czech Republic also represent an ethnic minority. When establishing these relations at the federal level, by adopting one's attitude we will also create a precedent for the other side's attitude. This is the standpoint we will adopt during the practical implementation of our policy.

[MTI] When you spoke about troop deployment in Slovakia, did you believe that Slovakia was threatened from abroad?

[Meciar] When we stress the idea of securing defense and security all along our borders, this means that we are reacting to the situation after the 1968 intervention. The Soviets—in order to find an excuse for Western Europe, and to make it look as though no confrontation had been involved—pushed our troops westward from their traditional locations. When the Soviet troops departed a vacuum was created; we want to fill this vacuum and we want to return to the previous state. Slovakia does not feel itself threatened. The Army also has functions other than defense. I have mentioned the protection of nuclear power stations, chemical plants disasters, and the protection of water resources. There will be units like, for example, sappers [cestne vojsko], or railway troops [zeleznicne vojsko], which will work there. The Army is no longer a component which threatens with weapons and force. The Army will perform supplementary services nationwide.

If there were some voices heard questioning eastern borders—voices raised by some extremist groups in the Ukrainian Republic—we heard them, but we do not understand them. Even if the deputies in the Hungarian Republic observed a minute of silence in order to commemorate the Trianon Treaty, even if the sentence that Hungary should be given back the territories taken away from it, which appeared—to be specific and to avoid misinterpretation of my words by some people in Budapest again— in a speech delivered by the former foreign minister, despite all this I do not see any threat to our borders in it. This is because, in Europe, anyone who opened up such a question lost room for political maneuvre. In a situation in which all Eastern bloc countries are dependent on help from Western countries, it could happen that any questioning of the borders could result in such help. A majority say that they would provide help only when there is a political stability. We also want to achieve political stability and remove preventing capital from being invested in our economy.

[Slovak Television] Much has been said about the Slovak national identity and the independence of the Slovak economy resulting from it. What is the Slovak Government's specific idea about the center's jurisdiction, its own jurisdiction, and the jurisdiction of the enterprises with respect to foreign countries? It will be very important to ensure the internal convertibility of the koruna.

[Meciar] I will share the answer with Deputy Premier Kucerak. As far as economic relations are concerned, we want to embark on the road of the market mechanism. We are already carrying out institutional changes in the state administration. We are aware of the fact that if we retain the government departments then we will never be able to wrench the enterprises out of the state claws. Bureaucracy strangles entrepreneurs. A bureaucrat is supposed to administer and help entrepreneurs. This is why we are reducing this apparatus numerically. Significant changes in the structure of individual ministries are being carried out. People have been laid off, the system of work is changing. It is a process that will not be mastered in a short time, because we want to rebuild the administration into a modern and better one, we cannot destroy it, however.

The Slovak Government's idea about relations with foreign countries is that the government must render enterprises a help in preparing people capable of trading and speaking foreign languages. We do not have trained people. Our untrained people—used to a certain system of regulations and to the behavior in an economic model in which everything depends on directives—faces an experienced Western entrepreneur and trading partner. Moreover, quite a large system of decentralization exists in the preparatory talks at various levels. For example, electronics. If somebody talks about the imports of electronic elements then let us also talk about what we will be manufacturing from these elements in Slovakia, since we have some idling enterprise. If, for example, when talking about BAZ [Bratislava Auto Plants], we say that by 30 September we will decide who will be the winner of the competition, whether General Motors or Volkswagen, then we are doing it because we assume that, after the type of production is decided upon, there will be a competition among Slovak organizations applying for cooperation. The government will not decide who will be doing what. Every one will be given an equal chance to apply. If they are no good, the Czech Republic, or foreign countries will come.

The consultation with the directors of machine, electronic, ore mining, and mangnesite industries which was held in recent days, left a strange impression on many people, since it was the first time that the government did not order them what to do. I said, you will take your business into your own hands, or, if you do not, the destiny of a sick organism waits for you.

[Kucerak] The questions related to the mechanism of economy should be solved at the federal level. That is, the issuing of currency, identical currency, identical principles of tax and customs policy; as well as identical interventions in social security and retirement plans. Of course, we cannot understand the jurisdiction at the federal level as the jurisdiction of some third party, which is misappropriated from the two national policies, but as jurisdiction defined by the consensus of both national republics. I believe that the economic jurisdiction defined in that manner will have the effect of strengthening the ties between economic units in the entrepreneurial sphere, whether they are Czech or Slovak. We want all economic elements to be active on our territory. That is, ours, Slovak and Czech, and also foreign elements—Austrian, U.S., or English ones.

They have to behave in a manner that will contribute to the solution of our problems in Slovakia. I am going to give one example. Communications are, in practical terms, administered federally. Some foreign entrepreneurs came here and offered the possibility of manufacturing certain telecommunication equipment and they tied it with other investments. In fact, this is a matter between ministerial departments in which the Slovak Republic Government must have its say. Yet, our government cannot decide this, because technological questions are decided by the federal government. It looks as if the federal organs did not believe that we would be able to make correct decision about the technological system of telecommunications so that we would be compatible with European technological levels and standards.

As far as internal convertibility is concerned, rather then asking whether we can afford it I would formulate this question as whether we need it. We need it badly, because we are isolated from the rest of the world and our koruna is not a currency recognized in the world and in Europe. In order to make the koruna convertible throughout the world, we have to make the first step of making it internally convertible. This means that any economic unit, enterprise, entrepreneur will buy able to by, for korunas, as much convertible currency is he likes. This is the principle of internal convertibility. In order to be able to buy it [convertible currency] on the internal market it is necessary that there be enough of it on the market.

This means that those enterprises which are capable of exporting must be supported. In order to be able to import enough convertible currency we have to fix such a conversion rate as would support exporting enterprises. It would definitely be a rate other than that the one we have now, that is some 17 korunas for a dollar. This would have to be quite different. Let us say that it would have be 21 to 24 korunas under current conditions; the rate of 30 korunas is also being talked about. That is, 17 korunas would not be enough. Of course, the change in rate would have a different effect on different enterprises. Those enterprises which are capable of exporting and those which export will not feel the negative impact of the change in the exchange rate. On the other hand, importing companies will be affected by a high price level of inputs. We cannot protect all enterprises. If we want to have a world koruna, that is a koruna that would be convertible in the world, then we have to, so to speak, sacrifice—we have to let them fall into trouble and then help them somehow. There is no other way.

[PRAVDA] You said that there will be a reshuffle in the governments. Could you be more specific?

[Meciar] Federal organs considered what the effect of such measures on the overall structure of the federal government would be. To change the jurisdiction in such a scope, some ministries will exist with a small number of people, or they will be affiliated to other ministries. The solution to this question does not lie within our jurisdiction. We are interested in what we will be doing and how we will adjust our own structure of the government. The process of fusing the ministries together means that there will be fewer ministers. This will call for other structure in personal relations. We do not have a specific idea today.

Central organs will look for ways of fixing their structure after these changes are made to the jurisdiction. I believe that their number should be smaller but that they should be more functional in order to meet the needs of the republic, and that they should be established in those localities in which they have been absent so far. There is no need for a minister to say what they should be doing in Banovce post office. There is no need to speak about the way in which the railroad station in Kozarovice will be equipped. The federal level can keep what belongs there—for example inspection, surveillance and administration of transportation. For this a federal ministry is not necessary, however.

[TELEVIZNE NOVINY] In what manner does the government want to carry our structural changes in Slovakia?

[Meciar] When speaking about structural changes, we have to begin with the industrial structure in Slovakia. In the power industry it is the shortage of power sources, the unfinished Gabcikovo project, and the unfinished project in Mochovce; the need to modernize the power station in Novaky, the need to ensure the activity in Vojany, etc. Those are the matters which will have to be decided by the government when facing, for example, the question of whether to close or whether to ensure the modernization of the Novaky project so that it may get in line with ecological standards by 1996. The government must also consider what is correct with respect to the miners. We anticipate that the production cutbacks will be made in a manner other than outlined in the federal government. In the transportation systems, we would like to speedup the construction of the southern highway, which was postponed for indefinite period and represents economic losses for us. In the machinery industry the changes have already begun. Instead of military production new ways of development are being sought; the process is painful and intensive. In the electronics industry, principal changes must be made in cooperation with foreign countries. If we isolate ourselves, we will go bankrupt very soon. Slovakia must participate in the international division of labor, otherwise there are no prospects. The enterprises which we got from the federation are not in good shape. Ore mining is facing production cutback programs, the machinery industry, having lost some of its production programs, makes its employees and all its environment unsure.

We assume that manufacturing as well as trading companies with foreign capital participation will be established. We anticipate establishment of multiple banking systems in our country, making our interconnection with the international division of labor possible. We will make efforts to overcome this short period with the help of foreign capital. We are losing our illusions that this capital would flood into our country. We will have to encourage it. Let us get rid of the illusions about "Slovak dollars," that is, that Slovaks will come from the United States and Canada and that they will let their dollars go en masse. This will not happen. There may be some symbolic help when they come here in order to invest in a limited way, but this will be done on the basis of trade agreements only.

The scope will be given by the market and by the needs of infrastructural changes. This means that with the changes in ecological interests and intentions, our ecology and economy are intertwined. Telecommunications will have to develop faster. As long as the power and capacity of the carriers,—that is, the connecting cables—is not increased, the automation of networks remains an illusion. We cannot automate anything until then. Existing exchanges cannot perform their functions. There are some more strategic decisions which Slovakia will have to make; evidently, this will have to be done after agreements are made with many international organizations. This means that there is no single prescription, and if you are used to the Slovak Planning Commission's declarations about what the situation will be in the next few years, forget it.

[Kucerak] Please do not expect miracles from the government with respect to the decisions about structural policy. Only under the conditions of liberalized prices—starting next year— will prices convey clear information to manufacturers what is advantageous for them and what is not. We will find out what will be advantageous to develop under our specific conditions. In this case the government will support certain industrial branches by indirect measures, relief, supports, and, only exceptionally, subsidies. If we are influencing the structural policy to a certain degree now, then we are doing so on the basis of analogy with the rest of the world and by judging what is effective and what is not. This is why it is advantageous to introduce foreign capital into our economy. Foreign investors invest in profitable projects and they will invest in profitable projects in our country as well.

Slovak Party Condemns Separatist Ideas

LD2708224790 Prague CTK in English 2145 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 27 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence [VPN] coordinating centre issued a statement here today strongly condemning the abuse of last weekend's rally in commemoration of Slovak politican Andrej Hlinka for spreading separatist ideas.

"We do not identify ourselves with the nationally pointed separatist statements presented in Ruzomberok as the voice of Slovaks," the Public Against Violence initiative which is now the strongest political force in Slovakia said. It underlined that voices were heard during the commemorative event in Ruzomberok, central Slovakia, that "negate everything we now consider the basic values of the post-November development."

The statement said that the sharpest voices calling for Slovakia's full independence are heard from people who do not live in Slovakia and who would not be directly affected by possible consequences.

A guarantee of the further development towards democracy, a guarantee of strong Slovakia within strong Czechoslovakia rests in close cooperation and a constructive consensus of all coalition parties, the statement stressed.

Deputy Premier on Trencianske Teplice Meeting

AU2808172790

[Editorial Report] Prague NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 25 August on page 7, under the headline "Federation—That Is, Linking of Interests; Is it the Unity, or the Bureaucracy, That Is Threatened?" publishes an 1,800-word article by Jozef Kucerak, deputy premier of the Slovak Republic. Kucerak writes that policies and words about extending the jurisdictions of the republics are not sufficient. The responsibility for Slovakia must be with the Slovak nations and other nationals living in its territory. According to him, "The endeavor for efficiency in the structure of the federation is not an expression of nationalism or a nationalist egotism." He believes that it is the duty of a national government to seek, enhance, and strengthen those mechanism of power between the governments in the Czechoslovak federation, which are useful to the interests of the Slovak nation. Joining nations in a federative union means, according to Kucerak, "compromises and mutual concessions, but the ultimate effect of the existence of the federation must not be lost somewhere in anonymous federal needs...."

In addition, Kucerak describes the administrative centralization under the communist regime which resulted in emphasis on the transport, communications, and power production. According to Kucerak, the development in these areas should be the natural outcome of the economic needs of both republics, and there is no need for the centralism. Without the central administration, he believes, Slovak business could be much more flexible and it would have better chances on the world market. Kucerak says that if one understands the federation as "sharing of material possessions rather than the linking of interests, then any attempt of the Slovak Government to decentralize powers must naturally seem to him to be sacrilege against the federation." According to Kucerak, the agreements reached between the representatives of the three governments in Trencianske Teplice must be reflected in further positive steps by the governments, political forces, and parliament. He concluded the article with the statement, "This is no threat to the federation, but to the stale federative bureaucracy."

Communists Affirm Role in 1944 Slovak Uprising

LD2808175990 Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)—Those seeking to belittle or even completely deny the role of communists in the 1944 Slovak national uprising distort historical facts, the Czechoslovak Communist Party said in a statement on the 46th anniversary of the event which was handed over to CTK by party spokesman Josef Hora today.

It said that the Communist Party in its present policy consistently applies a realistic view of history. Therefore it rejects also the narrowed interpretation of the uprising applied until recently and esteems the role played in its organization by democratic forces in the Slovak army and patriotic circles of the then Slovak political life.

In connection with this year's anniversary the statement stressed the opinion of the Communist Party that the present federation fully corresponds to the interests of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The party wants to actively participate in efforts for a new shape of the state, the statement said.

Ruml on GDR Attitude Toward Romanian Refugees

LD2508023190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The GDR Government's attitude toward the reception of Romanian citizens has been criticized by CSFR Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml. It is understandable that every country seeks to protect itself against the influx of refugees, he told GDR journalists in Mimon/Northern Bohemia on Friday. In the GDR in particular, however, from where many people emigrated in the past, attempts should be made to properly assess the situation and to find a humanitarian solution. He does not consider the attitude of the East German Government to be correct and hopes it will reconsider. [passage omitted]

447 People Awaiting Asylum, Refugee Status

AU2708133490 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 8

[Unattributed report in "Z domova" column]

[Text] Yesterday, the Ministry of Interior of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic announced that, at present, 447 Romanian citizens and one citizen of the USSR are registered in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as waiting for refugee status or asylum in other countries.

New Expert Group on Danube Water Project Formed

LD2808211890 Prague CTK in English 2016 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 28 (CTK)—Slovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus, Czechoslovak and Slovak Governments' envoy for the construction of the Gabcikovo Dam on the Danube Dominik Kocinger and some ministers met with journalists here today, following yesterday's debate of the Slovak Government Presidium on problems linked to the project.

The officials informed journalists of a new group of experts whose formation was agreed on by the government Presidium yesterday. The group comprises scientists from several countries working under the management of the European Economic Community. The group's activity will culminate next February when a team is to be set up on the basis of a competition to solve the ecoproblems specified by the group.

Answering a question of CTK, Dominik Kocinger said that the power station is expected to be put into operation at the end of next year. The concept of the Czechoslovak side makes possible return to the original variant in case Hungarians refuse to cooperate on this project.

Havel Receives SFRY Presidency Member

LD2908100290 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received Yugoslav Presidency member Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, who is in Prague for the international conference on Eastern Europe. They discussed current Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations and efforts to ensure that the two countries continue their present economic cooperation.

The conference on Eastern Europe opened yesterday. U.S. Congressmen and East European parliamentarians are due to examine the situation in East European countries following the changes in the ruling structures.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Official Says 'No Military Experts' in Iraq

LD2908093390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0530 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's mission in Kuwait is now occupied only by Ambassador Kurt Merkel and his wife. Hans-Walter Froehlich, member of the GDR Foreign Ministry crisis staff, gave this information in the Wednesday edition for the BERLINER ZEITUNG. The embassy will remain occupied for as long as the food lasts.

According to Froehlich, "around 20 citizens of the FRG, and possibly also other states who had sought refuge there," left the building on Tuesday. The Foreign Ministry hopes that "in line with earlier promises, Iraq will allow them to leave the country."

At the time of the invasion, on 2 August, there were 17 GDR citizens in Kuwait, including some children who were visiting their parents. Some of the specialists had ended their work according to contract, and some were home on vacation. "Fifteen of the 17 were able to leave Kuwait over a week ago. Of these 15, 13 crossed the border into Turkey after many problems." Some had reported from Ankara but had not yet arrived in the GDR. Two people, who are not members of the embassy, have not yet been able to leave Iraq. The Foreign Ministry is continuing work in an effort to resolve this. Of the 50 GDR citizens in Baghdad, 20 have so far left for home. Those remaining are 16 members of the embassy staff and 14 representatives of various firms. Froehlich said there are no military experts among them.

Hong Kong Investors' Citizenship Causes 'Surprise'

AU2908110690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24 Aug 90 p 4

[Peter Seidlitz dispatch from Hong Kong: "Rich Hong Kong Chinese Ask for Entry"]

[Excerpts] In Hong Kong the news that the GDR Government has offered citizenship to more than 50 Hong Kong Chinese in return for loans and investments amounting to 15 billion Deutsche marks, and has received the "go-ahead" for this from the FRG Government, has caused great surprise. On Tuesday [21 August] neither the German Merchants Association in Hong Kong nor the German Consulate General knew of the alleged intention of Hong Kong businessmen to get GDR citizenship. [passage omitted]

The Bonn government, which rules out automatic granting of citizenship to Hong Kong Chinese, but is examining the possibility of permanent resident permits, has allegedly posed the following conditions: The applicants must have worked in "leading positions" in German companies in Hong Kong for at least five years, must have a German "employment guarantee," must know German, and must show "affinity" with Germany.

This procedure has met with criticism by German businessmen in Hong Kong. Many companies are not willing to give Hong Kong Chinese guaranteed employment contracts, which not even the German employees have.

Ekkehard Goetting, delegate of the German Industrial and Trade Association, criticized the "conditions," which the FRG Government wants to impose, and expressed his surprise about the fact "that obviously the GDR, like other countries, now sells passports to Hong Kong Chinese in return for hard currency."

Information about the identity of the Hong Kong Chinese who, according to statements by a Berlin government spokesman, want to buy GDR citizenships with massive investments, were not available from any official body or from the trade association. In the view of diplomats, East Berlin's initiative undermines the FRG Government's cautious activities to grant residence permits to selected Hong Kong Chinese. In line with the GDR law on citizenship of 1967, East Berlin can give passports to foreigners if they have proved worthy of citizenship "because of their personal behavior and their work for the GDR's state and social system."

NVA Reportedly Researched Chemical Weapons

AU2808094290 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Aug 90 pp 55-58

[Unattributed report: "Coffee Instead of Truth"]

[Text] The area in a forest near Koenigs Wusterhausen, southeast of Berlin, is as strictly guarded as the former GDR border. A double fence, barbed wire, and a fire sector surround the Military Technical Institute of the National People's Army (NVA). For decades, this is where the functioning of all the GDR's military equipment has been checked.

On a 1,500-hectare open-air area, surrounded by military installations of the Soviet Armed Forces, the military tested newly developed products. Here the NVA engineers even had enough room to detonate large-caliber charges.

The area with the highest security level, however, was an inconspicuous gray building on Schenkendorfer Road. Behind heavy iron doors with yellow-black markings were five chemical laboratories, which were independently secured by further double air-locks.

The experiments for which these laboratories are equipped—experiments with ultra-poisons—can be observed only from an anteroom through a bullet-proof window.

In the isolated building, NVA chemists worked with lethal combat agents for years. Equipped with top modern analysis technology of the U.S. computer company Hewlett Packard and basic materials, some of which came from the Darmstadt pharmaceutical concern Merck, the military chemists studied the effects of chemical weapons.

The real purpose of the military laboratories is still being covered up. Lieutenant General Karlheinz Mueller, longstanding head of the Military Technical Institute, which has 250 employees, insists that the military engaged in "completely normal research" in these laboratories.

Four chemists, Mueller admits, also produced chemical poisons "in our laboratories." Combat agents "in small amounts" were delivered by the NVA.

The secrecy in which the now-discovered high-security building is shrouded makes the assurances with which then GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer countered rumors about combat agents being produced in the East at the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons at the beginning of last year seem incredible: "We are not developing them, nor are we producing them."

Karlheinz Lohs, 61, head of the Leipzig research department for chemical toxicology, does not believe that the GDR synthesized combat agents only for testing purposes. The "dimension" of the laboratories "is far too big" for the GDR's requirement for testing, the combat agent expert says.

Combat agent expert Lohs learned only last month about the chemical activities of the NVA. "This opened my eyes," the chemist says, who was always received in the administrative building during previous visits to the Military Technical Institute. During the many technical talks we had, "they nicely served me coffee but not the truth," Lohs states.

Actually, the expert, who headed the elimination of old armaments on GDR territory until 1961, should have known the truth. He served the GDR Government as a scientific adviser for chemical disarmament at the international negotiations on a chemical-weapons ban.

In any case, the NVA had the necessary facilities for testing combat agents. The Chemical Services of the NVA, with their main seat in building number 9E of the Ministry of Disarmament and Defense in Strausberg, coordinated the entire defense against nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. In several industrial enterprises of the GDR, such as the Pharmaceutical Works State-Owned Enterprise [VEB] in Dresden, the NVA had chemical basic material produced in special departments. It is unclear whether this included combat agents. An international experts commission, which inspected the Schwarzheide Synthesis Works VEB in Cottbus Bezirk in 1987 to check whether it produced combat agents, did not find anything suspicious.

In Storkow in Brandenburg, the ABC [nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical] military used Europe's largest exercise area for simulated nuclear, chemical, and biological attacks. Bundeswehr officers learned at a recent visit that, from time to time, small amounts of real combat agents, such as sarin, were used during exercises.

An accidental find made by an amateur sailor from Hamburg last month when he landed on the Baltic Sea island Greifswalder Oie, might prove that combat agents were also tested in other places. In an abandoned NVA tower the hiker found documents about ABC exercises.

A training document was left over: "Explain the procedures in detecting nerve-damaging combat agents in dangerous concentrations." And a leftover "report sheet" documented an exercise of 24 February 1989.

According to this, the combat agent sarin and a radioactive radiation with a "dose rate" of 0.5 rem per hour was measured. This corresponds to one-tenth of the value permitted annually for a worker in an FRG power plant.

Of course, the sheet also refers to the use of harmless imitations. At exercises outside of Strokow, only "imitation combat agents" were used—as in all countries that practice defense against poison gas attacks, Colonel Rolf Buettner, chief of the Chemical Services, says.

Scientists like Lohs, however, consider it conceivable that in fact training in the GDR was more harshly oriented toward reality: "There was a dangerous excess of zeal among the military."

The know-how for combat gas was in demand internationally. Thus, NVA officers helped Iraq to acquire a complete exercise field for chemical combat units near Baghdad. Saddam Husayn's Middle East dictatorship, as well as Libya's head of state Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, sought industrial help from the GDR to build production facilities for chemical weapons.

In the mid-1980's, the GDR Foreign Trade Organization had the delivery of a large pesticide factory to Iraq examined. After examining the plans, the Leipzig research department for chemical toxicology recommended that the Leipzig-Grimma Chemical Installation Construction Combine VEB not accept the sensitive order.

Facilities for the production of the low-poison substance BI-58 can, after technically simple reequipment, be used not only for the production of insecticides but also for combat agents. "In the end, we did not make an offer," Foreign Trade Organization manager Hans Schneider claims.

The Stasi [State Security Service] itself obviously worked with ultra-poisons without the knowledge of the NVA military. In a former fire-brigade school in Berlin's

Bohnsdorf District, near Schoenefeld Airport, "Civil Defense" was officially accommodated. There, specially treated steel grids for basement shafts were allegedly developed for defense against poison gas.

In fact, the strictly guarded building also housed a department of the Ministry of State Security. In insulated Stasi laboratories, in the middle of the residential area, intelligence service employees also experimented with the combat agent sarin. This is now confirmed by Colonel Wolfgang Trebesius, chief chemist of the "Scientific Center for Civil Defense."

The Stasi chemists reportedly had more than 400 grams of sarin, which is sufficient to kill tens of thousands of people. Trebesius claims that the experiments served precautionary measures against "chemical accidents" in industrial facilities, where "similar poisons" would be released.

The explanation of the civil defense man is hardly convincing. What is completely inexplicable, however, is what the Stasi people wanted to do with the stocks of the nerve gas VX, which, to the knowledge of poison gas expert Lohs, were still stored in Bohnsdorf last year.

It seems conceivable to experts that the Stasi and the People's Police were dealing with tear gas or nerve gases to crush internal unrest.

"But the use of war poisons would be the absolute height of lunacy," Adolf-Hennig Frucht, 77, one of Lohs' colleagues from West Berlin and a physiology professor, says.

In the meantime, peace has entered the former military center in Koenigs Wusterhausen. NVA man Mueller recently had a new plaque fixed at the entrance: "Institute for Product Examination and Industrial Toxicology" as the company is now called.

In a new color brochure, with a map showing the route to the place, the "comprehensive facilities" are marketed for West German clients. The West Berlin FRG Office for Material Research and Examination soon wants to become a partner of the NVA poison gas headquarters.

On the freshly printed visiting cards, the old and new institute head Mueller now simply calls himself Professor Mueller—the lieutenant general has vanished.

Poison Gas Expert Views NVA Research

AU2808133790 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Aug 90 p 58

[Interview with GDR poison gas expert Karlheinz Lohs by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "A Kalashnikov in Our Backs"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] As a scientific adviser on chemical disarmament to the GDR Government, you have always stressed at international conferences that there was no chemical weapons research in the GDR. Did you lie, or were you lied to?

[Lohs] Science and I, as a researcher of the Academy of Sciences, were misused as fronts of a clever camouflage.

[DER SPIEGEL] What did you really know?

[Lohs] I did not know the real extent of research in this field in our country. It was only in talks in Defense Minister Eppelmann's Ministry that I was told: Mr. Lohs, initial investigations have shown that we did have chemical weapons research.

[DER SPIEGEL] Could it not be that research was confined to protective measures against ABC [nuclear, biological, and chemical] attacks—gas mask tests, for instance?

[Lohs] The most important poison laboratories in the Koenigs Wusterhausen military technology institute were much too large for a small country such as the GDR. In addition, all the types of ABC equipment and protective devices were known; they were taken over from the Soviet Union. There was no reason for the GDR to carry out independent research, unless one wanted to offer the big brother something.

[DER SPIEGEL] What was the relationship with the Soviet Union?

[Lohs] Total isolation. To my knowledge, the USSR did not make available to the GDR forces any modern weapons of mass annihilation. The USSR's distrust had increased considerably in the last three years prior to the change. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that there were no poison gas munitions in the GDR is credible for strategic reasons. In the event of a NATO attack, the Warsaw Pact expected that the GDR and the ammunition depots would be taken quickly.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you have access to the chemical units of the Soviet forces in the GDR?

[Lohs] Once, in a military zone in Kapen near Dessau, we erroneously entered Soviet terrain. With our hands up and a Kalashnikov in our backs, we were led out immediately.

[DER SPIEGEL] Being a member of the Academy of Sciences, you were probably treated in a friendlier way.

[Lohs] Not at all. Our colleagues in Moscow did not give away anything in scientific research. That was a one-way street. Our Soviet colleagues researched all the classical chemical weapons and phosphorous acid compounds such as tabun, sarin, and VX.

Jordanian Official on Gulf, Israel-U.S. Roles

LD2808135290 Budapest MTI in English 0806 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Mu'tasim al-Bilbaysi, the foreign affairs secretary of state of Jordan granted an interview to the correspondents of the daily "NEPSZABADSAG," and Hungarian radio. The daily carries the interview in its Tuesday issue.

In answer to why Jordan was among the first to close its embassy in Kuwait, the secretary of state said the main reason was they wanted to attain a peaceful solution. "Almost half a million Jordanian citizens live in Kuwait, and we wanted to get them out of the country safely...certain nations seek a confronation with Iraq by refusing withdrawal (the closing down of embassies). Jordan cannot do this, while we also naturally cannot accept the annexation of Kuwait."

"We are neighbours of Iraq, what is more, brothers, we are from the same family. And Iraq is our most important trade partner.... When I say brothers, this does not mean that we share in what Iraq does. We are an independent country, and they have never coordinated their steps with us." Discussing the role of Tel Aviv, Mu'tasim al-Bilbaysi said: "The way I see it, there is no role for Israel in the scenarios of either Washington or Baghdad. I do not believe that the Jewish State would attack Iraq, but we Jordanians cannot be sure about this."

With respect to the popularity of Saddam Husayn in Jordan, the secretary of state said: "Saddam Husayn is the first Arab leader who dared to turn against America. His is the one who was able to express the feelings of the Arab people, and the people like this everywhere. There is a need for a strong leader, who could unite the great Arab family. Saddam Husayn is capable of this, but I do not believe he is preparing for this now." The great part of the world is against Saddam Husayn. Is it possible that the world is wrong? was the next question. Mu'tasim al-Bilbaysi said: "The error of the world is that it closed the doors to a compromise. The world follows America, it does what Washington says. The one thing they fail to see is that the aim of the United States is not to liberate Kuwait. But rather to keep Saudi Arabia occupied. With this, Washington has puts its hand on Arab oil."

Daily Reacts to Romanian Foreign Ministry Note

AU2908114090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Aug 90 p 3

[Peter Vajda commentary: "Vatra Diplomacy"]

[Text] We felt uneasy when we reported on information coming from various sources in Transylvania referring to the possible preparation of provocations on 30 August. We had to report on it because we know that silence can be interpreted as complicity. We also had to report on it in order to draw the attention of the Romanian leadership to our deep concern and fear, and to the fact that we would regard the possible repetition of the horror of March—the descent of club-wielding people from the mountains, the attackers of Andras Suto—as a tragedy.

The reports were ready to print when the statement issued by the Romanian Foreign Ministry in Bucharest arrived. Our editor saw a lot of things in his career, but the text of the aforementioned statement surprised him. As an answer to the peaceful statement of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, the Romanian side issued a document which seems to justify our fears concerning Transylvania. According to the the well-known recipe from the Ceausescu era, they falsify the past in order to provide a distorted picture of the present. The quality of this document cannot, in fact, be described. It lists discreditable expressions, one after the other, in such a way that the document loses not only the meaning of its content, but also the meaning of its sentences! For example, the one describing the intention of the Hungarian "revanchist-revisionist forces" read as follows: "This is nothing more than turning the wheel of history backward and an attempt to preserve the attitude and goals of fascist, Horthyist, and Stalinist obsolete totalitarian regimes in interstate relations."

While the enemy image is being dismantled all over the world, and cooperation between former antagonists is acquiring new dimensions, Romania continues a decades-old practice by claiming that Hungary brings territorial issues to the surface and is inciting a chauvinist psychosis among the Hungarian national minority. Such a behavior has its own internal logic: If the Hungarian minorities demand their rights, then they are labeled "an enemy" and, consequently, they have to be silenced. After reading the Romanian note, one is definitely doubtful: What is the difference between the position of the Vatra Romaneasca and that of the Romanian Government? Is there any essential difference between the two? When we read about the fact that the Vatra supports this document, our debts are dissipated by the conclusion that, perhaps, there is no difference at all. The government in Bucharest is identifying with the Vatra position in order to create unity by projecting the danger of a Hungarian threat, and also to make people forget that this is the only former socialist country whose citizens are fleeing the country in panic, and not only the Hungarians in Transylvania.

Just like the history of other nations in the area, the Romanian history proves that it is impossible to make the Iron Guard and its successor, the Vatra Romaneasca, a moderate organization by accepting their demands. The right wing cannot be overtaken from the right because there is only an abyss there. Depriving a national minority of 2 million people of their rights, keeping them in constant fear, and falsifying the intentions of a neighboring country cannot be Romanian national interests. The time has come to put an end to the lack of reason and to restore the state reason and the readiness for compromise essential in the relations with neighboring countries, as well as to replace propaganda with a rational diplomacy based on international law.

Stricter Customs Control at Romanian Border

LD2808105790 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Stricter customs control has been implemented along the Hungarian-Romanian border for the past week. Several hundred Romanian travellers are being sent back by Hungarian customs officials each day, in the light of various irregularities.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miklos Dobi, the official in charge of the national headquarters of the customs and finance officials, told MTI that they would like to clamp down on the so-called CMEA [CEMA] markets. The supply of goods from the Soviet Union had been essentially eliminated by the restriction of border-trafficking, Polish traffic had also declined, but attempts are still being made to bring more and more goods into the country from Romania. There are worrying aspects to this, for instance, privately imported meat does not receive the proper monitoring, and can pose health risks. Considerable amounts of forints have also been found on several travellers.

Mr Dobi stressed that the stricter control is not aimed at cutting back the incoming traffic, but merely at enforcing customs regulations. Romanian customs officials have responded sympathetically to the new measures, and since Sunday, have been helping to screen travellers as a way of detecting those breaching the regulations.

Assembly Welcomes North Atlantic Council Proposal

LD2808145990 Budapst MTI in English 1436 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The wording of the parliamentary stance, drawn up in response to a call from the North Atlantic Council, was adopted at the Tuesday session of parliament by unanimous vote.

Prior to this, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, pointed out that establishing close relations with the North Atlantic Council, the NATO and its affiliated agencies was an essential Hungarian interest. Such a dialogue could also help put into practice the idea for Hungary to play a kind of mediator role between East and West.

Speaking on behalf of the government, Tamas Katona, secretary of state for foreing affairs, also supported the document, stressing that Hungarian diplomacy was continually building contacts with the North Atlanic Council and its Brussels headquarters.

The stance welcomes the proposal of a the North Atlantic Council to raise the level of political and military dialogue between the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

At the same time, it lays down the Hungarian intention to expand relations with the North Atlantic assembly and NATO's standing council and committees in charge of political, economic, scientific and infrastructural matters.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister on Ukrainian Situation

AU2808142990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Maksimovich Zlenko by Zoltan Szalai; place and date not given: "There Is a Need for Traffic at Small Border Crossings"]

[Text] This week, for the first time in history, the foreign minister of the Ukraine paid an official visit to Hungary. Our correspondent asked for a short interview with Anatoliy Maksimovich Zlenko, following the latter's negotiations with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

[Szalai] The post of foreign minister of one of the federated republics is quite a formal position. Who issued the invitation for you to come to Hungary?

[Zlenko] I would like to express my thanks to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and to Geza Jeszenszky for their invitation, which enabled me to visit Hungary. We were delighted to accept the invitation because Hungary and the Ukraine are neighboring states and, consequently, negotiations between the two are essential. During these negotiations, we expressed our positions, and there was an interesting exchange of opinions on several issues concerning our long-standing good-neighborly relations.

[Szalai] Nowadays, we hear a lot about nationalist and separatist tendencies growing stronger in various federated republics. How do you visualize the future of the Ukraine: Will it become independent or will it remain a part of the Soviet Union?

[Zlenko] I have to point out that at this very moment, we are working out the kind of relationships that will exist between the republics in a future federation. As our newspapers have reported, we have established a special committee where each individual republic is represented, including the Ukraine. I do not really wish to speak too soon, so I cannot say what the new system, or the new federation, will be like. Nevertheless, I do believe that there are some important questions of strategic significance which require unity in order to be solved. The members of the special committee are aware of that, too. It would be difficult to predict what the committee will conclude in the end, or what the most ideal solution would be, but we definitely need a new framework. Opinions differ, but in the end, all questions will be decided upon by parliament.

[Szalai] Will the situation of Hungarians living in Sub-Carpathia change with the new circumstances?

[Zlenko] I was pleased to hear that the Hungarians living in Sub-Carpathia are content, and that their living standards are high. I think we should continue to work on the results we have already achieved. There is a committee in charge of national minorities in our republic, and I think that among its other case studies, it will be able to examine the situation of Hungarians, who are an integral part of the Ukrainian people. We consider everybody a member of the uniform Ukrainian people, and we work in the interest of the uniform Ukrainian people.

[Szalai] It is well known that the Soviet Government recently issued a decree which put an end to the traffic between Hungary and the Ukraine at small border crossings. How do you feel about this issue?

[Zlenko] We know that there is a need for traffic at small border crossings. The question is on the agenda, but, of course, it is not our most pressing issue. As I see it, the solution could be found in the larger context of European developments; at the same time, it would be too early to say exactly what measures will be taken in this field.

Swiss Foreign Minister Summarizes Visit

LD2808153490 Budapest MTI in English 1514 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Switzerland wishes to promote the shift in system in Hungary by transfers of experience and the training of Hungarian experts, Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Felber told a press conference at the Swiss Embassy in Budapest on Tuesday [28 August].

Rene Felber, who arrived on an official visit here on Sunday, summed up to journalists the outcome of his talks with Hungarian leaders, including President Arpad Goncz, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

He said that, as a palpable sign of Switzerland's helpfulness, a letter of intent was signed on behalf of the two governments about prospective areas of cooperation.

According to plans, Switzerland, or more precisely private firms and institutes, will provide assistance to Hungary in educating managers and banking and trade experts, introducing up-to-date statistical methods, developing the tourist and hotel industry, and in training teachers of German and French. Moreover, Hungary may take good advantage of the abundant Swiss experience in organizing the operations of autonomous local governments, Rene Felber said.

Jeszenszky Queried on Prague Discussion Topics

LD2708210990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] The head of the foreign service is to begin negotiations in Prague. Geza Jeszenszky was interviewed at the airport by our reporter Evelyn Forro.

[Begin recording] [Forro] This afternoon, the presidency of the Slovak Government recommended to the federal government that negotiations with Hungary about the Gabcikovo water barrage should be accelerated through diplomatic channels and that the country should be represented at the negotiations by Slovak Premier Meciar. At your Prague discussions one of the main subjects will be the matter of the Gabcikovo water barrage, the other the position of the Hungarian minorities, and these are almost Slovak internal affairs.

[Jeszenszky] Yes, one of my first questions will indeed be about Czech-Slovak relations and the question of the Czecho-Slovak Federation. Because there are a number of questions of common interest, where we have to know which is competent to deal with them: the Slovak Government or the federal government. This we cannot decide, so part of the questions you have raised—or part of some other questions on the agenda—can be the subject of discussions in substance only if these remain within the federal remit.

[Forro] Recently, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said that he seems to detect the same kind of fascist traits in the views of the Slovak National Party as in the views of Miklos Duray. Do you wish to react to this?

[Jeszenszky] I have to say that I do not regard this as an accurate statement. I only know the views of the Slovak National Party indirectly, but I do not suppose that such views could be found there either; after World War II, fascist views—fascist ideas I cannot imagine would have a place in the vocabulary and thoughts of present-day European politicians. In the case of Miklos Duray, I myself am ready to put my hand in the fire; that in his mind and ideology there are no fascist thoughts, and quite obviously there is nothing like it in his statements either.

Environment Committee Meets on Boes Power Station

LD2508110590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The National Assembly Environmental Protection Committee has held a two day session on-the-scene at Dunakiliti and Boes. The interest has only been heightened by the Slovak premier's recent announcement that his country wanted to commission the Boes power station under any circumstances. The two government commissioners for the works have also met.

[Unidentified reporter] The Hungarian side has informed its partner that our government wants to understand the statement of the Slovak premier about the building of the Boes power station; that this was not a repeat of the blackmail practiced by the former power [in Prague]—that is, that the diversion of the Danube was out of the question. The Hungarian Government commissioner has also asked that the national minorities should not be used to reach a compromise. According to the Slovak Government commissioner, agreement is impossible without compromise.

The National Assembly deputies have expressed doubts about the water refilling system at Dunakiliti. They have observed that, at the Boes side, the works are continuing, the turbines are almost ready, but the Greens' resistance on the other side is much stronger there than it has been in the past. Boes is important not only to the contractors; in the changed historical situation it is also important to the Slovak political tendencies, which are also becoming independent of Prague from the standpoint of energy.

We have asked the chairman of the National Assembly Environmental Protection Committee [Miklos Lukats] whether the committee's view had changed as a result of their experiences on the site.

[Begin (?Lukats) recording] Actually, not. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Self-Defense' Weapons Withdrawn From Public

LD2808170290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Interior Minister Balazs Horvath held an emergency news conference an hour ago. In front of Kata Nagy's microphone he described the decree which he issued.

[Begin Horvath recording] As of today, under decree No. 60/1990BM, I ordered the withdrawal of weapons of self-defense [weapons issued by the previous regime to party and state functionaries and members of the party's paramilitary arm]. Since dawn, policemen have been going to homes collecting weapons of self-defense.

This does not apply to the police, the professional officer corps, the corps of generals, or to the government guards—those who still work, whose (?service contract is still valid). It does apply to old age pensioners.

The decree has surprised everyone, I think, and has been issued because the worsening public safety and political uncertainty create the impression in people that every weapon of self defense in public hands could even be more dangerous—could possibly fall into the hands of dubious characters. In accordance with the signals by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, therefore, I have decided to have the weapons of self defense gathered up with immediate effect. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Further on National Assembly Special Session

Gyula Horn Speaks on Romania

LD2808095790 Budapest MTI in English 0910 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The first item on the agenda at Tuesday's special parliamentary session concerns the controversial bill on the elimination of the transaction rights of social organizations.

Prior to this, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, had asked to take the floor. He set forth the statement of the Foreign Affairs Committee on the Hungarian-Romanian relations that have developed in connection with the anniversary of the second Vienna decision. (MTI will issue the statement later in the day.)

During the day, members of parliament are expected to discuss the bill concerning the declaration and the accounting of assets belonging to certain social organizations linked to the former regime. A slot will be granted for the hearing of questions.

Committee Statement on Borders

LD2808142890 Budapest MTI in English 1405 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—The statement of the Foreign Affairs Committee connected with the anniversary of the second Vienna Decision was read out by Chairman Gyula Horn at the Tuesday session of parliament.

The statement runs, "The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly ascribes crucial importance to Hungary's relationship with its neighbours. It is convinced that the interests of the region and the whole of Europe are best served if the long-suffering peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, who have been frequently set against each other, will put aside their past grievances, either proven or imagined, and begin developing truly 'neighbourly' relations involving equal cooperation from all. The well-known implications of the second Vienna decision of 50 years ago have given us fair warning that relations can only be put on a better, more lasting, footing, by the peoples of the region itself, and by nobody else.

The Foreign Affairs Committee states that Hungary, as a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, rejects the idea of forcibly changing the existing European borders, and endorses the view that a basic condition for stability in the region is the full enforcement of human rights, including the collective and personal rights of the national and ethnic minorities, in keeping with the relevant Helsinki documents.

The committee condemns all forces attempting to use the anniversary to fuel controversy between the Hungarian and Romanian peoples. It requests the members of the Romanian National Assembly and all responsible political forces of the country to vigorously oppose extremist manifestations of hatred and machinations to accordingly influence public opinion. The interests of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, the democratic changes in Eastern and Central Europe, and the creation of a single Europe can only be served by responsible efforts towards reconciliation and truly "neighbourly" relations, the statement says. [no closing quotation mark received]

The statement was approved by MPs.

President Goncz Addresses Assembly

LD2708140990 Budapest MTI in English 1257 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—In his parliamentary speech, President Arpad Goncz drew the attention of MPs to the particular importance of every word uttered in parliament. Moreover, he warned that ill-considered statements might violate the country's foreign policy interests.

With regard to the nervous atmosphere prevailing in the country, Goncz said that it had been noticeable during debates at the previous parliamentary session. He said that the general mood can be ascribed to the new era and its many changes, but that MPs should be aware that what they say in the house is made public through television both at home and abroad. He asked the parties of the opposition and government coalition to equally abstain from twisting one another's meanings, and rather set principle against principle and argument against argument.

Arpad Goncz expressed his thanks to MPs for the historic results achieved at the special summer session, which bore testimony to their spirit of compromise and political acumen.

Justice Minister Addresses Assembly

LD2708134990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0845 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Speech by Justice Minister Istvan Balsai at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. speaker, esteemed National Assembly: You are well aware that one of the important requirements for the change of system currently under way—in connection with the government system—is its modernization, which obviously entails—by necessity—the partial transformation of the central organs of administration. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, I would like to point out, in a few sentences, the most important tasks which appear at a legal level in the bill, requiring legal amendment. I would like to mention, as an important element, the dividing up of the central direction of environmental protection and water management tasks, bearing in mind that environmental protection considerations should be asserted consistently in the course of conducting water management activity. According to the proposal, water management and the management of water affairs would be put under the jurisdiction of the minister of transport, telecommunications, and water affairs [kozlekedesi, hirkozelesi as vizuegyi minister]. At the same time, the bill separately lays down the guarantee that the stipulations changed under the direction of environmental protection must be enforced by all means in the course of water management and the direction of water affairs.

The increased priority to be given to the role of environmental protection—which up to now has been unjustifiably neglected—is indicated by the provision of the proposal—which stipulates at the legal level that the central tasks concerning the direction of construction affairs will belong to the duties of the minister of environmental protection and regional development [kornyezetvedelmi es teruletfejlesztesi minister].

Also worth mentioning, concerning the construction industry, is the bill's regulation to the effect that jurisdiction over economic activity and the management and control of the construction industry in the future will be exercised by the minister of industry and trade—in a manner and to an extent which is determined by government. As a result of this solution, public opinion will be reassured concerning the earlier overlapping, which very often gave rise to just criticism, in that the central direction and supervision over activity by the authorities and the contractors will be separated in the construction industry.

Last but not least, I would like to point out that the bill reflects the change that has taken place with the rebirth of the ministry of labor and in connection with skilled training outside of the school system. The renewed tasks of the minister of labor justify that the minister of labor should perform the central, branch supervision and direction of skilled training outside the school system; related to this he should exercise jurisdiction regarding management of the skilled-training fund.

Esteemed National Assembly, these are the most important changes contained in the bill to amend the law; this bill, in harmony with the development of the tasks and jurisdictions of certain ministries, which, in the meantime, have changed, indicates the government's endeavor aimed at the creation of effective and better quality government work. For this reason, I ask the esteemed National Assembly to enact the bill into law, after having debated it. Thank you for your attention.

Goncz Interviewed on Role as President

AU2708072390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Peter Nemeth and Andras Banki; place and date not given: "Five years—of Historical Chances"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] On the occasion of the 20 August St. Stephen's Day celebrations, President Arpad Goncz gave our newspaper an interview, stating that during his coming visit to the Ukraine, he would initiate the establishment of a Carpathians-Tisza regional cooperation program—a program which would include Hungary, the Eastern part of Slovakia, Sub-Carpathia, Serbia, and possibly the Transylvanian area of Romania. MAGYAR HIRLAP Chief Editor Peter Nemeth and Deputy Chief Editor Andras Banki put together this interview, in which the president gives a detailed account of his efforts.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] We were both surprised that you did not ask to see our questions in advance. This led us to draw three conclusions. First, that you do not like this practice either, (although it used to be general practice even at a lower level,) whereby interviews followed a prepared script, with questions and answers. Second, you may feel that no question could possibly bother you, and third, you may see it as perfectly alright if you are unable to answer a particular question.

[Goncz] All three explanations are acceptable and self-evident. The press has the right to ask any question it likes; it is my right to answer whatever I like; as a human being, it is my right not to be able to answer a question; and it is my duty, as a human being, not to bluff, but to admit when I cannot answer a question.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] When we were preparing this interview, we thought it would be better to avoid the past, but we do have to go back a little bit. Three weeks ago, you were elected president of the Hungarian Republic. Nevertheless, prior to that, there was a short period during which your position was threatened, albeit indirectly. Initiating the referendum, collecting signatures and going through the actual election after that cannot have been a pleasant experience at all....

[Goncz] I have to admit, quite honestly, that this was really difficult for me to handle emotionally. Politically, however, it was not so difficult, because if, as an end result, I had not been elected president of the Republic, I would still have had somewhere to go back to. Consequently, this aspect of the question worried me much less. What did worry me was that, meanwhile, the office, the prestige and credibility of the presidential office was eroding more and more. Many people asked me, how does it feel to be floating in the air, to be a compromise president elected over the heads of the population. The latter was particularly unpleasant, because I really did not feel, and still do not feel, that way. This conviction of mine has become stronger since then, not only because of the parliamentary elections, but also thanks to the incredibly strong support I have been sensing. Incidentally, I would very gladly have assumed the decision of the people; after such an election I would feel even stronger. At the same time, if the temporary position had been extended for another six months, it would not have been me, but the presidential institution that would have collapsed. Now it looks as though it has become more solid. People see it as credible. Nobody expects any miracles from me, though. Nor could they expect any, because I have no part in the executive body. It is my job to say what I think, and, as far as possible, to think in a way that is compatible with their way of thinking—actually, this is not difficult for me, either.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] At the end of your statement, you just used personal pronouns; of whom were you thinking? The government, the people, or public opinion?

[Goncz] I am always the representative of the Hungarian people. In a way that is an abstract term, of course, for the people includes university lecturers, dentists, seasonal workers, locksmiths, viticulturists—in short, everybody. So we cannot really speak of monolithic public thinking. There is evidently no such thing, and yet there evidently is a public opinion. It is impossible not to notice that the atmosphere in the country is nervous and impatient, that people are already expecting results, or at least encouraging signs. When I speak, therefore, I have to take these facts into account.

Easing the Tensions

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Can the president of the republic do more than empathize and think along the same lines as others? In several interviews you have stressed that you do not like the strong/weak comparison, but you did just say that you would have felt stronger if you had been elected by the people. Does this mean that, after all, we do have a weak president of the republic?

[Goncz] In the case of a direct election, my sphere of constitutional authority would be no wider. I have not calculated this exactly, but I think the parliament represents at least 70 percent of the electorate; so, in actual fact, the only thing I do not know is the exact number of people who would have voted for me, and whether I have become a household name among those who are not in the least bit interested in politics.

At the same time, I must say that Hungary has not developed its presidential system yet. The position of this so-called weak presidential office— incidentally, I would prefer to call it a constitutional presidential office,— the position of this office in our political life has not been completely clarified. If we see the president as a signature machine or as a machine for receiving ambassadors, then it is not worth being president. At the same time, the feedback from things I have said tells me that there is a need for this position, and that there is a need for me. This gives me incredible inner strength, and it also proves that I am right in saying things I feel are true—my own opinions.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] That is correct, but in times when the country is at an economic low, and when subsequently the atmosphere is charged with tension, the president's opinion can oppose government efforts; that inevitably leads to conflicts.

[Goncz] Because of his position, the president of the republic is the partner in dialogue of both the government and the people. He is certainly not against the government, because he stands above party politics, but he always has the right to clearly draw the government's attention to problems he senses. At the same time it is also his right, or rather, his duty, to inform the people in all honesty about the difficulty of a situation; this must not necessarily be done in a way which defends the honor of the uniform. If necessary, he should say that he cannot see how things could be put right.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] We spoke of conflictual situations, of tensions. A short time has passed since you were elected, but perhaps you already feel whether the president of the republic is able to ease tensions?

[Goncz] Judging by my talks and by the enormous amount of mail I receive, I feel that the president can play such a role. Of course, it is impossible to measure these things exactly, but I am convinced that the president's opinion does have an impact on political life—on cooperation between parties, for example. All the more so because here we deal with extremely important issues which should be solved together. Furthermore, if the presidential office is solid and credible, then the president's opinion on the solutions to these problems has to be taken as a word of warning, if nothing else.

Christian, National, Liberal

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] You are a Hungarian Christian and a liberal thinker. Unfortunately, in our minds, the values attached to these terms seem to go against each other. How do you think that this gulf—seen as very deep in our public debates—between conservative, national-christian thinking and liberal thinking can be bridged?

[Goncz] You said: Christian, Hungarian and liberal. I see no contradiction in these three terms; the only question is whether we are able to put the terms in their proper places. The word Hungarian implies that we assume our past; the sad, bitter, and glorious past alike. That does not mean that every part of this past serves as a model to which we should return. We, however, not only can, but also must learn our lessons from this past. As I see it, the meaning of the word Christian has to be positive. In a secular sense it signifies two things: patience—for Christian love is nothing but patience, selfless patience—and solidarity—which is an important element in liberalism too. That is, in fact, nothing but the subjective spreading of Christian love; in other words, to be able to empathize with others, and not just feel impersonal responsibility towards humanity. In Western countries there is no conflict between respect for the past, patience and social solidarity, nor between the pragmatic political conclusions drawn from these sentiments— which, in practice, means the choice between alternatives. It really is unfortunate that, in Hungary, these elements clash from time to time. One of the reasons for this is that in the interwar period, the terms Christian and national were not used in their real meaning, but in a different context. I would like to refer to the real meaning of these words. Let me add something to that. I learned from Bibo that an exact answer can only be given to an exact question. The answer, of course, can also be inexact, but when the question is falsely or poorly phrased—be it on purpose or inadvertantly—then it is almost impossible to give a valid answer. I think that the current unfortunate debates are based on a series of poorly and mistakenly phrased questions, and the ensuing erroneous answers—this may have happened in good faith or bad faith. It was Kolcsei who defined the Homeland and Progress requirements— capital H and P, please! It is now indispensable for us to keep both in mind. Without a Homeland there can be no Progress in this area, and without Progress there is no Homeland. Again, the two terms cannot contradict one another. Indeed, the truly exemplary periods in our history were precisely those where Progress did not preclude Hungary's fight for independence, and where patriotism did not in the least stop social progress and social justice from being our fundamental aims.

An Honorable Campaign

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] It can be feared that these questions will reemerge during the approaching election campaign. As president of the republic, what kind of a campaign would you see as successful?

[Goncz] An honorable campaign, in which local issues prevail. Furthermore, I would not mind at all if people who belonged to no party took office in the self-governing bodies. Twice in my life I have witnessed how people instinctively and confidently elected those who knew how to distribute the little bit of bread there was, and who knew how to get the schools started— once in 1944, at the national committees, and then in 1956, at the elections of the workers' councils. At a local level, this is what we are dealing with, although we do not have to distribute the bread now. Furthermore, a free citizen has the right to control the activities of the bodies he has elected—to check how his tax money is used there, at his residence—and he has the right to take his destiny into his own hands. In my speech at Opusztaszer, therefore, I would like to speak first of all about the republic: The republic does not have loyal subjects but citizens, and free citizens do not raise their hats for anyone. Unless it is for somebody's merits. Being a citizen means having responsibilities and duties, which everyone has to be aware of. In relation to this, I then want to talk about the problems that I think we have to face, and those issues that we have to tackle as soon as possible.

Fragments of Values

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Does this mean that you are going to raise valid questions which have been carefully formulated?

[Goncz] I hope so.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Are there exact and valid answers to these questions?

[Goncz] There are alternatives and compulsory courses of action which cannot be avoided. Given that I am head of state and not head of government, I do not wish to draw up a detailed list. I want to talk about citizens' rights and duties, and what people have to do in order to make the best alternative come true.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] For many years, Arpad Goncz needed optimism to imagine even his own future. Today, thinking on behalf of the people, do you not need immense reserves of optimism to stand up in front of the people?

[Goncz] Man cannot even survive without optimism. Both optimists and pessimists are usually right, because half the time something or other happens, and then, at the end of it all, one of the two will say "I told you so". The fact that I had faith in the future helped me through a lot of things. I was even an optimist in prison, and I swear to God that I had no immense reserves of optimism then. In fact, I had something against the official optimism, because when we spoke of the possibility of a release, for six years it was always those who placed the odds against the state who won. I hope that will not be the case now.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What values do we have in which we could believe and strengthen in order to set off in the direction we really would like to be going?

[Goncz] At the moment, Hungarian social conscience is full of the fragments of various values. Fragments of socialist values, based on the very laudable notions of equality; fragments of national values, based on our most basic commitments, on our belonging to this nation; fragments of Christian values, referring to the family and to the holiness of faith. At times, these fragments of values severely clash with everyday social life, and if we shake them about, they always come to rest in a different order. We will have to live with this kind of kaleidoscopic movement and this way of thinking for a while yet. Presently, I think our most important task is to strengthen social solidarity. I would also like to make it clear in people's minds that Hungarians are mature, that they are able to recognize their own interests, and that, given the opportunity, they act with instinctive certainty in politics; incidentally, I am convinced of all these things. The first task, therefore, is to let the people do what they can and what they want. Because they will do just that.

The Carpathians-Tisza Region

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Our relations with the West are developing favorably, but here, in Central and Eastern Europe, tensions are emerging. What could we do to ease these tensions?

[Goncz] In my mind, establishing good relations with our neighbor states is a priority in our foreign policy. I am convinced that, from the point of view of our future, these relations play quite an important role, and I attach extreme importance to any form of regional cooperation. We depend on each other; whenever necessary we have to support each other, making use of the time before a united Europe becomes a fact. This is why I do not like the kind of propaganda that sharpens conflicts and does not focus on our common interests and our interdependence. I attach particular importance to the establishment of good relations with Czechoslovakia, and therein Slovakia, and to our reconciliation with the Romanians, which is something we have to work on as hard as they should.

In other words, we also have to learn about the factors that contribute to their way of thinking—their presumed or real interests—and we have to present our own case in such a way that they do not see it as offensive to them, particularly as it really is not offensive to them. Our demand is that Hungarians living in that area should enjoy full human rights. That is the same thing that we want to offer to our own people, and to the minorities living on our soil, and it stands in accordance with the Helsinki agreements. I do not think that an excessive emphasis on the painful events of the recent past would serve any purpose, although this emphasis is understandable. I find it much more important to base ourselves on realities.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to our information, you will shortly be traveling to the Ukraine with some concrete proposals for regional cooperation.

[Goncz] Yes, I would like to set up a Carpathians-Tisza cooperation program, which could spread over the Eastern part of Czechoslovakia, Sub-Carpathia, Serbia and possibly the Transylvanian area of Romania. Geographically, this is totally logical, and if it came to something, it could even bridge the "distance" between our countries.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] But your next trip will take you to the United States.

[Goncz] Yes, I will be traveling to the United States in the near future, and there I will speak at the festivities planned for the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights and their codification. I will also meet important representatives from American spiritual and political circles.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] To whom will your speech be addressed? The Americans?

[Goncz] I would like it to be addressed to the whole world.

A Historical Role?

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] This question is a little bit naive, but after what has been said, we feel it should be raised: Do you think Arpad Goncz could play a historic role in Hungary's life?

[Goncz] Give me another 50 years to answer that question.... I have five years at my disposal, and I do not think I am telling a lie when I say that one of the attractions about this office is that it can give me a historic role. Perhaps it is not too vain of me to say that I would like it to be that way; otherwise, why would I have stood for office?

Goncz Speaks About Personal Life, Magyar People

LD2708214290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1904 GMT on 27 August broadcasts a 55-minute recorded program, during which Hungarian President Arpad Goncz touches on a series of topics, ranging from his religious beliefs and family life, to his views on Hungarian society and the character of the Magyar people.

Goncz says he personally has no scores to settle with anyone, and that most of the letters demanding a settling of scores come from people living abroad. He says the Hungarian people are not characterized by impatience—a fact well illustrated by Imre Nagy's reburial last year, which was a great moment in the country's life and passed off with dignity without incident. The country has great need for a feeling of success, and people are frustrated because they cannot work as well as they would like. He says there is great freedom of the press in Hungary, but this goes together with a fear of losing it, which means that reactions to criticism are sometimes more extreme and hysterical. The period of transition is difficult—especially because, in general, the contors of a united Europe are still in the process of being formed, he adds.

Goncz also speaks about European values, placing most importance on collective and individual human rights. He philosophizes about the nature of society, social structures, and says democracy is louder and healthier than dictatorship, as it is a dynamic balance. He has confidence that the Hungarian people will be able to come through, as they are able to recognize their interests. Their political instincts are sound, illustrated by the fact that in the elections, the extremes of both left and right were soundly marginalized.

Goncz also speaks about his literary work, both his own writings and translations. He recalls his prison experiences, which left a great mark on him. The program concludes with Goncz speaking about his leisure time and his family life.

Party Representatives Comment on New Government

AU2808153690 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 25 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed interview with various party representatives; place and date not given: "Party Evaluations"]

[Text] On August 30, it will be 100 days since the members of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's government were sworn into office. This symbolic date marks the end of the first phase in the implementation of the change of regime in Hungary. Our colleagues from the MTI news agency asked various party leaders to summarize their parties' viewpoint on the last 100 days.

Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]

According to Imre Konya, leader of the MDF parliamentary faction, during the last 100 days, the government succeeded in creating the basic requirements for continued successful work:

"To my mind, the most important thing was that, in the course of three months, the government took the real situation of this country into consideration.

"The government was able to make sure that the change of regimes would be modeled on its party program, and this was crucial; the change in the Constitution made that possible. With the introduction of constructive votes of nonconfidence, the government can only be constitutionally ousted if it loses the confidence of the majority in parliament. I think that during these last three months, the parliamentary factions of the coalition parties have become wedged together to such an extent that very little real danger exists of the coalition falling apart.

"The government was right in not emphasizing the difficulties too much, as this would obviously have led to a loss of credibility in many people's eyes. It would have seemed as though the government was looking for excuses in advance, because it had no solutions. It is a fact that they could have published better propaganda with the help of mass media communication—which uses its own specialized knowledge and stands behind the government—fighting for the same causes."

Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]

Peter Tolgyesi, leader of the SZDSZ parliamentary faction:

"It is the first time in 40 years—or perhaps even the first time in our history—that a legitimately elected government has been able to start working under peaceful circumstances, and amid such favorable international conditions.

"The question arises: How were the MDF and the government able to take advantage of this situation? First of all, there was a government program which could be interpreted as a long list of attractive promises; but there was no ranking list of promises and things to be accomplished. Since then, however, concrete events have revealed that the government has no program of measures to combat the economic, social and political crisis.

"The government failed to tell the country quite honestly that the economic situation is exceptionally difficult. Instead, it made attractive promises, even though people must have felt it in their bones that circumstances were getting worse and worse, and that living conditions were getting harder. One more thing has to be said about the evaluation of these 100 days, and perhaps this is the most important thing: Apart from dusting off old proposals, the government has centralized wherever possible."

Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP]

Istvan Bakos, acting vice-chairman of the FKgP:

"When evaluating the first 100 days of this government, I have to take into account in advance that, due to the "inherited" economic and political chaos, several hundred days—let alone 100 days—would have been insufficient to normalize the situation in which Hungarian society finds itself.

"I also have to say that, at the very beginning, the government did not show enough firmness, either. After taking office, the first step should have been to suspend the inherited laws in some way, because they prevented development. The change in the economic sphere never came. The sanctity of private property has not yet been restored. Because of its particular political characteristics—as far as the privatization process is concerned—the FKgP devotes special attention to the handling of the land reform question. In their approach to this question, the Smallholders base themselves on 1947 conditions."

Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]

MSZP President Gyula Horn:

"The Socialist Party does not primarily expect results from the government, because miracles are not produced in 100 days. One hundred days, however, should have been enough for the government to present a credible and real development program to society. The MSZP agrees with the need to develop a market economy.

"The Antall government also took several thoughtless steps in the area of human relations; for example, I could mention statements made about religious education, where, in the end, the ministry in question was forced to go back on its word. More and more alarming reports are also reaching the MSZP, stating that excellent experts are being dismissed because of their 'unreliability'."

Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]

Viktor Orban, leader of the FIDESZ parliamentary faction:

"If we examine the government's previous activities explicitly from the point of view of principles, and if we try to establish whether the first free elections brought us a truly democratic government and a democratic parliamentary system, then we have to say that, on the whole, a true democratic system has been established.

"In recent days, however, the FKgP has behaved in a way that has no place in a modern democracy. Those who accept the FKgP as a coalition partner in government have to be prepared for the fact that the manifestations and concepts of the FKgP will cast a shadow upon the whole government coalition. In other words, as we approach the 100th day of government, the question arises: Can the Hungarian government coalition be democratic in its convictions, when one of its elements advocates principles which are totally antidemocratic?"

Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]

Janos Birkas, cochairman of the KDNP:

"The first 100 days of government coalition have definitely been successful, even though public opinion does not sense that, and the opposition questions it. The government secured the necessary legal conditions for the consolidation of the change of regimes. For this it used the parliament, although it had little experience or practice in legislation; in the meantime, the opposition behaved in a way that cannot be described as patient.

"From the point of view of the KDNP, it is understandable that public opinion in the country cannot appreciate the activities of the government, and that the opposition attacks or belittles the government's efforts."

Opinion Poll Results on Political Change

AU2808133590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Aug 90 p 11

[Lajos Biro report: "How Do People Feel the Change in the Regime?—Power and Political Elements Dominate"]

[Excerpts] We have witnessed a unique historical process in the past two years: The state-socialist regime collapsed and the building of a new type of social and economic regime has begun. The Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute conducted an opinion poll among 1,000 adults between 14 and 21 June 1990; the people questioned represent Hungary's population.

Just as in many other cases, our current research also proved that about one-third of the population are passive participants in political processes, so much so that they are unable or unwilling even to express their own private opinion. Below, we report the answers of the remaining two-thirds of the people questioned—generally people of higher social status. [passage omitted]

The answers show that, for quite a while, people did not believe in the change of a seemingly rigid "system"; many people—especially younger people—believed that change in the regime was actually in the making only when parliamentary elections were announced (11 percent), and others believed it only after the results came in (16 percent). The people for whom the funeral of the martyrs of 1956 represented the real milestone came primarily from among the older generation (12 percent.) [passage omitted]

The elements of the change in the regime as reflected by public opinion:

	frequency of the elements mentioned in percentages
free elections	31
emergence of a multiparty system	29
changing the lower and upper echelons	22
establishing a market economy	20
improving the living standards	16
ensuring the freedom of opinion and fundamental human rights	14
accelerating ventures and halting inflation	14
new social policy measures	12
local government elections, reorganizations	10
changing ownership, privatization	8
changing the moral and ethical norms	8
withdrawal of Soviet troops	6
developing a new foreign policy	6

The answers also reflect various interests deriving from the different living standards of the people surveyed. Young educated people mention the change of leaders, the market economy, and the acceleration of private ventures more frequently, while the weaker strata of the population demand the development of a proper social policy network. The need for political and moral change, and a halt in Hungary's dependence on the Soviet Union, is to be found in all the social strata surveyed. The importance of local authority elections is evident among highly educated city dwellers.

All in all, how did the public opinion receive the political changes of the past two years?

	answers in percentage
bitterly	3
with sorrow	2
with submission	11
indifferently	11
with hope	56
gladly	14
with enthusiasm	3

Official Views Economic Policy, Trade Ties

LD2708114890 Budapest MTI in English 1104 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, Aug 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's foreign economic situation has improved during the first 100 days the Hungarian Government has been in office, Mr Janos Martonyi, state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, told MTI-ECONEWS.

Foreign trade turnover has seen a steady rise over the past few months of the year, including the 100 days in question. Hard-currency exports grew by 15 per cent and imports decreased by 1 per cent.

The fears that the large-scale liberalization of imports would unlease buying fever of unprecedented proportions have not materialized. (The fears were rooted in the fact that the previous government liberalized 70 per cent of imports, and the current one continued the policy).

The trade balance in the first seven months showed a surplus of 600.8 million USD, and the tourism balance is similarly in the black.

The country will probably have to import 500,000-600,000 tonnes of grain for fodder at a cost of 50-60 million USD because of drought, as well as about one million tonnes of oil at an extra cost of about 120 million USD to make up for the short Soviet supplies. The agreed amount of Soviet oil exports to Hungary this year was 6.48 million tonnes.

The current Gulf crisis will probably deprive the country of 200 million USD in lost exports, and also puts the planned 1-billion-USD trade balance surplus at risk.

There is, however, still a chance that the country will be able to achieve the targeted surplus, Mr Martonyi said. In that case, with the expected tourism surplus of 300-400 million USD the country's account will—for the first time in years—break even.

In 1988, the current account deficit was 807 million USD, and last year, it reached 1.437 billion USD.

From September 20 to 23, talks are scheduled to start between Hungary and the EC Commission about Hungary's associate membership of the EC.

If all goes well, Hungary could start working its way towards full membership after 1995, Mr Martonyi said.

On the other hand, contacts with the Comecon [CEMA] countries are getting worse all the time.

Hungarian-Soviet trade is to convert to dollar accounting next year, but several questions are still pending, such as how Hungary will offset the initial terms of trade loss of 1-1.5 million USD.

The upcoming unification of the two Germanies is adversely affecting Hungarian exports to the GDR, as it has already meant the loss of a number of significant orders.

Hungary now intends to claim damages worth 500 million DM for cancelled orders.

Economic Relations Minister on Economic Prospects

AU2608164390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Aug 90 pp 1,5

[Report on interview with Bela Kadar, minister of International Economic Relations, by Zsuzsa Gal on 17 August; place not given: "We Are Still Facing Recession"]

[Excerpts] According to Bela Kadar, there will be no shock therapy. It is, however, too early to feel optimistic because recession has not yet really reached the Hungarian economy. Turning the national currency into a convertible one is an economic goal, but this requires adequate hard currency reserves. The Hungarian population is primarily afraid of large price increases. According to Bela Kadar, there are no grounds for fears that the government will initiate repeated rental and price increases.

[Kadar] No such thing can be imagined politically either, because the government has set the goal of creating a social-market economy, not a liberal market economy. In formulating the nature of our economic policy, we must start from the real situation, but, given the fact that there is no emergency situation today, the risks of shock therapy are not justified. [passage omitted]

[Gal] What kind of economic policy can be adjusted to the current controversial situation?

[Kadar] The risks of shock therapy are diminished when there are signs of economic progress. If it is true, however, that there is a danger of a deepening recession, then this should be avoided by means of an anti-cyclical policy. In this case, maintaining the limiting nature of the economic policy would resemble a ship captain pumping water into a sinking ship. A proper government should apply easing measures in the particularly threatened areas, help restructuring, and increase the ability of the economy to adjust. All this requires a more difficult economic policy than shock therapy. [passage omitted]

[Gal] It has also been said that the forint is quite close to turning into a convertible currency; from this, can we draw the conclusion that the forint will soon be declared as convertible?

[Kadar] The government does not have any plans for turning the forint into a convertible currency beginning 1 January 1991. Convertibility is desirable, but it would be foolish to consider such a step without considerable hard currency reserves. Besides, a convertible forint is the result, rather than the cause, of a healthy economic development. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Minorities' Lifestyle, Status

AU2908181590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Aug 90 p 5

[Dr. Janos Kiss Commentary: "Minorities"]

[Text] These days, the situation of national minorities is in up the air. There may be two reasons for this,—two major reasons, along with several smaller ones,—one that springs from political movements which can be seen in neighboring countries, and one that can be experienced in Hungarian public life. To the former, we must add that—as far as the situation of minorities in neighboring countries is concerned—we tend to look at things from the point of view of Hungarians living abroad; this is understandable. Given that the life of these Hungarian minorities abroad centers around the continuous fight for national rights, we have become quite used to dealing with the vital issues of Hungarians living outside our national boundaries.

Nevertheless, let us not forget that, naturally, this empathizing attitude goes—or should go—hand in hand with introspection. In other words, what is the situation of national minorities in our country? This leads us to the other aforementioned reason, the conditions in Hungary, which—again and again—direct public attention toward the situation of Gypsies, Germans, Slovakians, Romanians, and Poles living in our country. These conditions are determined, first of all, by the significant political events of our times. We need look no further than the parliamentary representatives' elections we happened to experience, where the following question was unequivocally raised: How could the national minorities gain representation in parliament? Currently, the elections to the self-governing bodies repeat that question: How can we make sure that a proportional number of mandates is given in the local representative bodies to Gypsies, Germans, Slovakians, Romanians, and so on—mandates that would reflect their numbers among the population?

Of course, in actual fact, there is a lot more to the issue of national minorities in Hungary than the proportion of those who were voted into parliament, or those who will be voted into the self-governing bodies. Indeed, given the situation of the population, these mandates—whether there is a greater or smaller number of them—do not make any great difference on their own. First, because the minorities may well also be a minority in the elected bodies, they will not achieve anything if their word cannot stand up to the majority. Second, we have long been familiar with the statistical approach— with its exactly calculated and artificial proportions, it diverts our attention from essential questions.

Having said that, let there be no misunderstanding—it is essential that national minorities are given an appropriate political and social forum, or rather, that they create their own forum. Furthermore, it is very important that a maximum number of their representatives gain access into the local self-governing bodies, for example. What makes me wonder is the actual truth of it all: How could we make sure that the various ethnic groups living within our territory—or at least the majority of them—feel at ease in Hungary, and that their lot develops or changes in a positive way?

We can be almost certain that we do not need any centrally decided and promoted large-scale measures. We are already familiar with these kinds of measures. The fate of Gypsies—who constitute the largest minority in Hungary in numerical proportions, with 500,000 or 800,000 people—is the clearest example of ill-adapted measures of these last few decades. It is a well-known fact that attempts were made to "assimilate" the Gypsies; this was done after thorough political consideration—or, to be more exact, with political determination—and today we already see the serious resulting damage quite clearly. Nevertheless, we have to recognize the good intentions of the Kadar regime, in as much as it really wanted to "solve the Gypsy question." (The quotation marks are no coincidence, for decades there were meetings and measures taken in order to "solve the Gypsy question".) As they say: "The road to hell is paved with good intentions;" that proverb has never been more appropriate than here. The political decision actually said that there were no Gypsies, or, that if there ever had been, there should not be anymore. Officially, their language was not recognized, nor were their fundamental will to stay together and their traditional laws acknowledged. The idea was that Gypsies should work and mix with Hungarians, and become assimilated.

There were some people who were successfully assimilated, and some who were not. Among Gypsies, there were people who wanted the assimilation to work, and others who did not. In short, as we were able to see, a directive-issuing dictatorial approach to national or ethnic minority issues always gives rise to bad feelings. So, in the end, even the executive authorities were confused by the resulting situation. In plain terms, they did not know whether they were coming or going. Indeed, if they scattered the Gypsies amid the jungle of housing projects, they ended up with innumerable problems. On the other hand, if they started creating a Gypsy settlement—as they did in Miskolc—then that did not work out, either.

To be honest, party politicians and administrative leaders of the recent past did not notice the real root of the problem, namely, that they always tried to solve the vital problems of the Gypsy population without involving the Gypsies themselves. This leads us to national minority policy in the larger sense, because we can draw almost general conclusion: One must never make decisions without consulting the minority in question. In other words, the only determining factor is their notion of how they would like to live in this country that belongs to us all, and of how they would like to determine their situation here.

The true, factual background to this commonplace-sounding basic truth is very complicated. Indeed, there were times when the same authority that tried to "assimilate" the Gypsies, simultaneously emphasized separation for other national minorities—against the latter's will—and again, in an authoritative manner. At one time, village names were posted in both Hungarian and German at the boundaries of "Swabian" villages, and that led to angry protests in the national minority villages of Buda. The argument of the protesting locals was that, during the war, they had pledged their loyalty to Hungary, why did the authorities now want to make them Germans?

A minorities' policy, therefore, requires sensitivity and concentration, as well as investments, which are indispensable. Particularly of a financial nature....! We began with the case of representative bodies, and let us come back to them. A national minority can have as many mandates as it likes in a couple of local representative bodies, but that is of no use if the state—and, of course, the local community—cannot, or will not, create the necessary conditions for the existence of national minorities. Indeed, the recognition and proclamation of the rights of minorities are worth nothing, if the actual conditions for putting these rights into practice do not exist. For many years, I personally believed that, for example, Romanians in Hungary had no right to speak of the disadvantages of a national minority status. Maybe they had no right to do so, if one compared their living conditions to those of Hungarians in Romania. It is a mistake, however, to draw comparisons like that. The minorities in Hungary cannot depend on external examples, because this has to be a national issue hinging upon our moral behavior. We have now discovered that, in fact, Romanians in Hungary did not receive the necessary support, either, which would have enabled them to fully practice, maintain, and preserve their language, culture, and customs. Nor did other national minorities receive that support, either. Food for thought....

Tibor Flanek Commentary on Discontent

AU2708201590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Tibor Flanek commentary: "Poverty and Liberty."]

[Excerpts] "We are going to die of hunger with all this freedom," a man in the queue comments, as we stand, waiting to buy our loaf of bread. "At least a kilo of bread only cost three forints in the days of old Kadar," his companion adds, and then they carry on grumbling. They curse the Antall government, they scold the political parties, and they dismiss the whole thing as upper-class flights of fancy. I am the involuntary ear-witness of their conversation all along, until we reach the entrance of the supermarket—open, even though today is a holiday—and I never detect a single word that would convey the least bit of enthusiasm about the change of regimes. On the contrary, the words that reach my ears reflect bitterness and pessimism. These people only feel that things have become worse, that their life has become harder again, and they have no faith in the future.

Why do they feel that way? Because during the last few months they have witnessed nothing but price increase upon price increase, and because their wages from the factory have long since ceased to keep up with the double figure inflation rate. Today, they still have enough money for cold cuts and a few bottles of beer, although there are others for whom that is already a luxury. Who knows, perhaps they will soon become a luxury for them too, if things carry on this way. Living standards will continue to get worse, and from here, you see nothing which would refute that notion. The government is experimenting with programs that might even bring about an economic change one day, but you do not sense much of that here.

And yet, promises fall like manna from heaven. People have gone through a number of stabilization and development programs, and where has that brought them? To where we are now. In the eyes of the deprived, free elections and a legitimate parliament are nothing but upper-class hobbies, and the yearning for Europeanism is nothing but intellectual whining. Here, there and everywhere, the question arises: "What good is freedom, if, in the meantime, the country slips further into poverty?" [passage omitted]

It is small consolation for a man of this generation to think that he may die of hunger a free man. This generation can only accept the change of regimes if their own fate improves at the same time, because as they turn their eyes toward the West, they notice that democracy and an affluent society have been inseparable there for a long time. It is, therefore, not surprising that in their bitterness they should long for the days when our country was the merriest barrack in the socialist camp; that they should wish for the return of goulash communism, when unemployment posed no threat, and when bread cost three forints. The price of bread actually moved away from three forints under Kadar, but from this generation's point of view, even that becomes an irrelevant detail. What is far more important is that we now have to pay the high price for the small pleasure of that three-forint bread, because it was in those decades that the Hungarian economy was put on the road to ruin. [passage omitted]

There is time and there is time. It would be a shame to conceal the fact that we have not yet overcome the difficult part, that we still have to go down a bit before we may start our ascent, at long last. If the current government can be blamed for anything, then it is for having tried to wrap this truth into a sweet and make public opinion swallow it. It is better if we know in advance that the pill will be bitter, and it is preferable if we have no false hopes for a quick recovery. The present government, however, will be seriously examined about the recovery itself— not today, but in the foreseeable future. For example, will the government's economic program bring about that change we so fervently long for? Indeed, this issue will determine whether the government's quiet strength can be turned into a quiet victory for the government and for its coalition partners, or whether the government will loose credibility and be forced to surrender its power to the opposition parties. Those are the rules of democracy.

Democratic governments make mistakes, too. They cannot, however, carry on forever with their occasional misjudgments, and they cannot remain in power after a series of failures. It is not, therefore, irrelevant whether we starve in servitude or freedom. In a state of servitude, one can only die. Given freedom, there is always another solution.

It would be wiser to opt for freedom....

National Peasant Party Voices Dissatisfaction

LD2508204190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Correspondent Imre Benkoe reports on the National Peasant Party rally in Szolnok; date not given]

[Summary] Sharply criticizing the proposed land bill, one speaker—recalling his lowly servant status prior to the war—pointed out that the restitution of the 1947 state of affairs regarding land ownership would result in the reappearance of big landlords and poor peasants.

The participants at the heated meeting worded an open letter to the president, the National Assembly, the prime minsiter, and the people, in which they point out that insecurity about making ends meet increasingly troubles the people. The greatest danger to the Hungarian economy—especially to agriculture—is the Independent Smallholders Party's irresponsible policy which would endanger food supply to home markets, to export, and would fatally divide the peasantry.

"The participants mentioned, among the depressing examples, the fact that the wheat refused to the Soviet Union in a demagogue manner at $120 a ton is not wanted by anybody even at $90.

Socialist Party To Promote Continued Criticism

LD2508034590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] Peter Zentay reports on today's press briefing of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

[Zentay] At their news conference, we heard such phrases as: The government is sweeping the country into a critical situation, and The realization of the smallholders-inspired land law concept could lead to a civil war situation.

Gyula Horn and the two other socialist leaders—Lazlo Kovacs and Imre Szekeres—see in the draft land bill the danger that as many as 80 percent of those currently working in agriculture could be robbed of their livelihood, reduced—as they would—be to a kind of servant existence. The communist rule undoubtedly, at the time, gravely offended the peasantry, but it would be a historic mistake to make innocent people pay for these offenses; rather, one should think about more realistic possibilities for compensation.

It is not, however, only a question of the land law; also, for example, that, more than once, expressions have been emanating from the government camp which arouse hostile feelings in neighboring countries. Thereby, a danger threatens our country's positive international judgment. The foreign political pronouncements are increasingly of a domestic political motivation.

Furthermore, the socialist leaders also learned with shock that, whether in the matter of electing enterprise leaders or the appointment of new ambassadors, viewpoints of ability are relegated to the background and a new kind of counter-selection is evolving.

In connection with the anti-inflation struggle and employees' shareholding [in their companies] the Socialist Party wishes to coordinate with the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats. In answer to my question, however, it was also said that the socialists are not out to bring down the government. Because they consider its work lacking in concepts, however, they wish to finally promote the development of effective cabinet work, through more continuous criticism and concrete proposals.

Entrepreneurs Party To Enter Local Elections

LD2608154290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] In Tata, national leaders of the Entrepreneurs' Party discussed preparations for local elections at a party meeting. Andras Takacs reports:

[Takacs] As Jozsef Rigo, president of the party comprising 11,000 members, has said, the Entrepreneurs want to enter their local authority elections as an independent political force. Their prime allies could be organizations of economic interest representation, industrial associations, the National Organization of Artisans, and the National Free Organization of Retailers. They, of course, do not preclude the possibility of entering into an alliance with others. The only condition is that the Entrepreneurs regard as partners nonextremist political forces only. After all, as it was said this morning, the Entrepreneurs' Party is capable of nominating independent candidates in all settlements. The political forum to begin at 1600 will be an outstanding event of the first national day of the Entrepreneurs. To this the organizers invited well-known Hungarian Democratic Forum, Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungarian Socialist Party, and also Federation of Young Democrats politicians.

Free Democrats Begin National Election Campaign

LD2608215890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] today began its national campaign at Pannonhalma. Attila Hoegye:

[Hoegye] Since the Free Democrats' land program was worked out in November, nothing has changed; it is still timely today—said Pal Juhasz, agrarian economist, agricultural spokesman of the SZDSZ. He made this statement this afternoon at Pannonhalma at the forum which was part of the Alliance's two-day weekend nationwide village event. In the opinion of the Free Democrats, the land issues must be resolved within the framework of the whole structure of agriculture; this is why the program of the Smallholders—which deals just with the land—is unacceptable.

In agriculture, the system of hired hands has long been replaced in the developed world. To cite a theoretical example: He who ensilages is not interested in the milk yield. The chain of interst is broken. A competition situation must be created in agriculture; the monopoly situation of the large farms must be eliminated in such a way that, alongside them, medium farms are created, the already existing small farms are developed, and their number increased. The large farms must be formed into a network of farms, and the small farms developed further on a practical alliance basis.

Because around three-quarters of the descendants of the former landowners live in cities, are cut off from agriculture, and work in different professions, the SZDSZ advises that land be returned to those former owners and descendants who still work in agriculture today, and undertake that they will work in this area—and definitely not to those who would rent it out.

Interior Minister Horvath on Police Reorganization

AU2808103490 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Andras Szentkiralyi; place and date not given: "Firmness Instead of Toughness—Commissioners To Be Elected by the End of September"]

[Excerpts] By the second half of September, we will nominate the persons who will assume the positions of republican commissioners after being appointed by the president of the republic. Balazs Horvath stated this when we asked about the 100 days of activity. He told us that they succeeded in civilizing the Interior Ministry and, although crime is on the rise, he intends to use firmness—instead of tough action—and he encourages his policemen to do the same. [passage omitted]

[Szentkiralyi] Although you rejected the parliamentary interpellations in connection with our police department—more exactly the serious reservations concerning Andras Turos, the deputy head of the National Police Headquarters—please tell us about the pace of reorganization in the police department and the change of county police captains.

[Horvath] We want to make an elite and efficient body out of the police department. The draft bill currently in preparation—soon to be submitted to the parliament—will serve this purpose. As for Andras Turos, I am not aware of any problems regarding his activity; however, in a given situation, it is not an essential requirement for Andras Turos to be the deputy head of the National Police Headquarters. We will evaluate the heads of the county police headquarters after the local government elections; legislation pertaining to this is currently under preparation. This evaluation has not been carried out so far because—of course—the future self-governing bodies will also have to be present among those who carry out this evaluation.

[Szentikiralyi] The public has been shocked by rumors about the mafia voiced on the radio by unidentified persons. The shocking thing is the extent of crime on the one hand, and the obscure hints of a possible political connection on the other. Would it surprise you if these turned out to be some kind of provocation? Would you be surprised to hear calls for "a strong hand," because of the big crime wave and the fact that one cannot trust the politicians either?

[Horvath] So far, there has been no proof of a possible provocation, or of policemen turning into informants. If this proves to be true, there will be serious consequences. I do not agree with such methods; one should not hear about such serious matters from unidentified people on one of the most popular radio programs. I will do my best to ensure better living and working conditions for the policemen. I believe we need firmness, rather than a tough hand, and—if they let me work—I will lead the ministry according to this principle. One can trust the coalition politicians; democracy cannot work with dictatorial methods. [passage omitted]

[Szentikiralyi] A new institution of public administration emerged with the self-government law—namely that of republican commissioners [koztarsasagi megbizott]. Who will these people be, and who will elect them? Will this also be a matter of party debate, or will professional factors play a role in this?

[Horvath] We should find and nominate persons who are accepted in a certain area and known by the people—persons whose honesty is beyond doubt—and who are well versed in public life and have proper professional qualifications. These people will be nominated for appointment by the president of the republic. These people are both politicians and public administration officials. I do not think that this should be a matter of party debate because they are nominated by the premier and decided upon by the president, and not by the parties. I hope we will find these persons by the second half of September.

Foreign Ministry Contacts Kuwait Embassy

LD2808143990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have managed to make contact with the Polish diplomatic mission in Kuwait. Director (Wiktor Wruszcza) is on the microphone:

(Borak), the charge d'affaires, reports that he is carrying out his duties. He remains in permanent contact with Polish citizens who are still in Kuwait. The embassy has been assured its supply of electricity and water. On the other hand, two of our diplomats will be leaving Kuwait in the next few days.

Special Kuwaiti Envoy Arrives for Talks

LD2808220990 Warsaw PAP in English 1948 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 28—Special envoy of the Amir of Kuwait Fahd al-Hassawi came to Warsaw tonight for talks with Polish authorities.

Jaruzelski Receives Envoy

LD2908153490 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a special Kuwaiti envoy, Minister of State Fahd 'Abdallah al-Hassawi.

Al-Hassawi conveyed to the president a message from Amir of Kuwait Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah on Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, its aftermath and measures taken to restore the state of affairs prior to the aggression.

The Kuwaiti envoy was also received by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and held talks with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

The Polish side presented Poland's stand toward the conflict. The Polish Government condemned the Iraqi aggression and expressed its protest against the occupation and annexation of Kuwait. These actions violate the international law and pose a serious threat to peace in the entire Gulf and Middle East region and disturb the climate of mutual understanding and cooperation which has been consolidating the world over.

Poland has backed all the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council adopted in connection with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. It was pointed out that Poland has been consistently implementing all the economic sanction included in resolution 661 of August 6, 1990, although this entails severe losses suffered by Poland's economy.

The Kuwaiti envoy was given an assurance that Poland will support international efforts aimed to eliminate the effects of the aggression, withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait and restore its independence and territorial integrity.

During the talks, the sides expressed their mutual will to develop bilateral Polish-Kuwait relations.

Effects of Soviet Oil Supply Reductions Seen

LD2908102590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Correspondent Andrzej Zychowicz report]

[Text] Reductions in Soviet oil supplies to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were already predicted before the crisis in the Gulf. Now, in the face of oil price increases on the world market, the Soviet cuts in supply may deepen the economic crises of countries like Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. It is forecast that this year Soviet oil supplies to the countries of the former bloc will be seven million tonnes lower than planned. Poland received 5,390,000 tonnes of oil in the first half of this year instead of the 6,975,000 tonnes provided in the agreement. Experts claim that Moscow has reduced the level of its exports to Eastern Europe because of bad organization, decreases in production and sudden need for hard currency. Thus, Eastern and Central Europe must seek oil on the world market.

KGB Presence in Poland Assessed, Questioned

AU2808151190 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 26 Aug 90 p 5

[Interview with Major General Vasiliy Galkin, chief of the official KGB representation in Poland, by Witold Beres and Krzysztof Burnetko; place and date not given: "The Public Resident"]

[Text] [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Could we ask you to begin by introducing yourself and describing your professional career?

[Galkin] I was born into a peasant family outside Moscow in 1925. I was drafted into the Soviet Army in 1943, and was involved in combat operations on the Karelian front and the second and third Ukrainian fronts. In 1955 I graduated from a military academy and was transferred to the KGB. I have been in Poland since December 1984. I will complete my period of service here in a few days' time.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Why are you being recalled, and who will succeed you?

[Galkin] I have exceeded all the limits. I am over sixty-five and I have spent almost six years working in Poland. I am going into retirement now. I will be replaced by Major General Smirnov, who has already arrived in Poland.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] You are the KGB's official representative in Poland. What does the representation do and what functions does it have in our country? What official documents, both Polish and Soviet ones, regulate your activities?

[Galkin] There is a minor point that I should make. I am the representative's deputy. I have recently been performing the representative's duties, because of the sudden death of the representative, General A. Kireyev.

I will begin my answer with the second part of your question. In line with current international practice, security departments that want to cooperate in this area conclude bilateral or even multilateral agreements. An agreement of this kind was concluded between the USSR's KGB and Poland's Ministry of Internal Affairs with the assent of the governments of our countries. The final version of the agreement was drawn up in the 1970's. It defined the directions and forms that cooperation was to assume. It envisaged the opening of appropriate representations in both Moscow and Warsaw for the two departments. In carrying out their work, the representations follow the agreement, as well as guidelines provided by the senior officials of their ministries. These guidelines preclude any kind of interference, however, in the internal affairs of the partner country. I would like to stress that the KGB does not conduct any kind of subversive activity directed against Poland. Our representation also does not concern itself with the affairs of Soviet citizens who are in Poland.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What status do representation employees have?

[Galkin] The most senior personnel at the representation possess diplomatic passports, and they, therefore, enjoy immunity, just as senior personnel at the Moscow representation of the Republic of Poland's Ministry of Internal Affairs do.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What position does representation occupy in the structure of the KGB?

[Galkin] The representation is subordinated to the leadership of the KGB, or, in concrete terms, to the chairman of the KGB. Specific cooperation issues are dealt with by the appropriate divisions of the KGB. General supervision of the activities pursued by representations attached to the security organs of foreign states is exercised by the International Relations Department.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] So, for example, what links does the representation have with the KGB First Main Administration, which is responsible for all operations outside the borders of the USSR, or the International Relations Department, which oversees cooperation with the special services of Warsaw Pact members states?

[Galkin] All contacts with these services are maintained by the International Relations Department.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] How have KGB activities in Poland changed in recent years?

[Galkin] The question should be formulated somewhat differently. We can talk about changes in cooperation between the security organs of our two states. The essence of that cooperation has been undergoing systematic changes, which is to be explained by changes in the interests of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the character of the concrete requests that they have made of each other. The political changes that occurred in Poland recently will no doubt lead to profounder changes in the very nature of that cooperation (both in terms of priorities and the very essence of cooperation).

The closure of the Third Department at the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs has signaled a change in your interests. In our case, for example, we have established the Administration for the Protection of the Constitutional Order to replace the Fifth Administration for Ideological Subversion.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What concrete instances of cooperation could you cite?

[Galkin] I do not remember any details, but it all took place within the framework of the agreement that I have mentioned.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Would you care to comment on the rumors that the KGB played a significant part in political developments in Poland over the past decade?

[Galkin] I can assure you that these rumors are groundless—one just needs to consider what would be the most representative period from this angle—that is, the turbulent course of events in Poland from the time of the "roundtable" talks to the present. Surely, the peaceful manner in which events unfolded, without any kind of external interference, confirms the truth of what I have said?

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Yet, the KGB was involved in bringing about the so-called "velvet revolution" in Czechoslovakia...?

[Galkin] Absolutely not. At a USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs news conference held on 28 June of this year, it was clearly stated that "the KGB had nothing to do with the events in Czechoslovakia." After all, the KGB cannot act in a manner that runs counter to the wishes of the USSR state leadership.

As for Poland, none of us, including myself, who were here and observed the turn that history took, could have expected events to take the course that they did. I sometimes think that even God could not have foreseen what happened.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What was cooperation like between the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, especially the Security Service, in recent years?

[Galkin] Our cooperation covered a number of areas. It covered fields such as the exchange of information; the exchange of training and scientific material; the exchange of experience; and the training of specialists. In view of our states' membership in the Warsaw Pact, both sides successfully cooperated in protecting the military sector. Cooperation between border protection forces was mutually advantageous.

We also cooperated with the Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Cooperation was confined to exchanging information, however, and, when necessary, to coordinating activities in the field such as combating international terrorism and drug trafficking, organized crime, various forms of extremism, and the violation of the interests of both countries.

In connection with reports that have been appearing in the press on alleged KGB interference in the affairs of the Security Service, I would like to stress that they are completely without foundation. Neither the KGB or its representation in Warsaw have ever been involved in matters of this kind, neither now nor in the past.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] There are, however, rumors—admittedly ones that have not been completely confirmed so far—that there is unofficial, but close cooperation between the KGB and the Security Service. Apparently, the investigation that followed "Fighting Solidarity's" campaigns against Soviet Army units stationed in Poland was a joint operation conducted with KGB. In one of his recent statements, Minister Kozlowski told GAZETA WYBORCZA that unofficial contacts between KGB officers and Ministry of Internal Affairs department and division heads existed up until the beginning of 1990. The activities in Krakow of the colonel who called himself Zacharov might serve as an example; he receives reports from the Security Service on anti-Soviet demonstrations in that city.

[Galkin] I do not know anything about that. I think that this would be impossible. As far as your internal affairs are concerned, we neither acted against the Security Service, nor did we work together with it. There could have been and there are exchanges of information, however, on the activities of terrorist groups, but only those that originate outside Poland.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What percentage of Security Service personnel were trained in the USSR? Where were they trained apart from the Dzerzhinskiy Academy?

[Galkin] What percentage were trained and where they were trained is information possessed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I would like to say that it was a very limited number. In view of the fact that the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Poland has its own training facilities, there was a need to train greater numbers of specialists in the USSR.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What did Polish Security Service functionaries learn from their KGB counterparts?

[Galkin] They received the usual professional training for employees in this category: They studied criminal and civil law, international law, criminology, psychology, logic, sociopolitical and special subjects, and foreign languages, especially those that are considered uncommon.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Did the KGB know that terrorists were being trained in some bloc countries? Was Poland an exception in this respect?

[Galkin] All I can say is that terrorists were never trained in the Soviet Union—it would have been incompatible with the Soviet viewpoint on this abominable phenomenon of our time.

As you know, many Soviet citizens have been victims of terrorism in recent years. The Soviet state and the state organs that defend the legal order, the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs above all, are waging an active struggle to combat terrorism and, with this object in mind, they are establishing an ever increasing number of contacts with security organs and police forces in other states, including capitalist ones.

I believe that terrorists were never trained in Poland. All that I know about terrorists being supposedly trained in other Eastern and Central European countries comes from Western media reports.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Were there ever any conflicts with the Polish Security Service (for example, conflicts arising from an overlap of powers)?

[Galkin] Such an eventuality was excluded by virtue of the principle on which cooperation was based: Cooperation in the activities that I mentioned above was always conducted with bilateral consent, and it was based on a clear formulation of concrete requests submitted by the two sides.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] According to Western assessments, the Soviet military intelligence service, the Main Intelligence Directorate, was practically taken over by the KGB in the middle of the 1970's. So, what were relations like between the representation and the Polish military and Polish military intelligence?

[Galkin] This is another occasion on which Western sources have turned out to be badly informed or have deliberately distorted the truth. Why should the KGB suddenly assume functions that are specifically those of military intelligence! Incidentally, the KGB would not possess the forces, the means, or the experience to discharge these functions. That is why the representation in Poland never maintained contacts with top officials at the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, or Polish military intelligence.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] At one time, however, the British counterintelligence service, MI 6, revealed that Henry Houghton, who worked for Polish intelligence in the 1970's, was taken over by the KGB, who set him the task of establishing a spy network at the British Navy's research center in Portland.

[Galkin] I do not know anything about that.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] As we know from a document that was published in OPINIA, the Confederation for an Independent Poland weekly, in September of last year the Ministry of Internal Affairs requested information from the KGB on the international situation. Was there also cooperation of this kind in the past? Could you reveal some details?

[Galkin] The exchange of political information always was a basic form of cooperation. I can assure you that the KGB, in accordance with what it could do, always provided the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs with political information that was of interest to it. It particularly applied to regions where the Polish side did not possess appropriate capabilities. The Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs provided us with information on disarmament issues and arms reduction, and some other issues of vital importance for the USSR.

I would like to particularly stress that the Ministry of Internal Affairs never acted on instructions, let alone demands from the KGB. The Polish side always determined by itself what information it could share with the KGB.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] How many employees do you have under you? Is it true that until recently they were in the ranks of our state administration, especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs? In light of the change in the political situation, has the number of your employees changed?

[Galkin] We had advisers at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and some other Polish ministries until 1954. This has not been the practice for the past 35 years.

Regarding my personnel, I can count them on the fingers of one hand. Apart from them, we employ three or four others (a translator, a typist, a driver, and a handyman). The number of personnel at the representation has almost dropped to a third of what it was before. This is not only due to a change in the nature of our cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but also to cost-cutting considerations.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] Some Western experts have recently been talking about increased KGB activity in Eastern Europe.

[Galkin] I deny that.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] How do you assess contacts with the newly formed Office for the Protection of the State? What are the prospects for cooperation with this body, and what are the similarities and differences between this cooperation and the cooperation so far?

[Galkin] The Office for the Protection of the State is still at the organizational stage. Cooperation with its services is still limited, therefore, and basically boils down to solving the most urgent tasks. Just like the previous resident, I too have had warm working contacts with Interior Minister Kozlowski. This permits hope that both sides, guided by their practical needs in this sphere, will reach an agreement in the near future about paths of cooperation and the concrete forms thereof.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] What is the sense of maintaining KGB representations in Eastern Europe, especially now that the bloc is breaking apart? Was this cooperation ever based on reciprocity, and is it now?

[Galkin] Major changes are indeed occurring in Eastern Europe. They have affected not only the domestic order of these countries, but also their basic international agreements within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA framework. Nevertheless, despite these changes, the countries in this region, primarily the USSR and Poland, will continue not only to exist side by side, but also to cooperate in many spheres, including probably the military sphere.

If cooperation between the security organs of our countries was necessary before, why should this cooperation not continue in the future? There is no need to mention the obvious need for cooperation in such spheres as the struggle against international terrorism; drug trafficking; organized crime, especially in the trade and economic sphere; the improvement of border security; and so on.

Once again I wish to stress that everything is occurring according to the principle of full reciprocity. In Moscow there is a representation of the Polish Interior Ministry; its chief is General Sarewicz. His powers are similar to ours.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] We know the name of this representation is the "Vistula Group." Are there official KGB representations in Western countries as well?

[Galkin] No, this reciprocity only applies to the Warsaw Pact.

[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY] The last question. Writings have recently appeared in Moscow by a group of KGB officers, demanding that the security organs resume control over those spheres of USSR life that used to be under their control. At the same time, KGB General Kalugin gave several interviews in which he said that nothing in the KGB has changed since the time of Stalin, and that radical reforms inside this body are required. Who is right?

[Galkin] I know nothing about the writings you mention. I can say the following, however, about alleged conservative trends inside the KGB.

The KGB is not some kind of isolated, caste organization, a "state within a state." KGB organs form an inseparable part of the mechanism of the Soviet state, and are closely linked to all its bodies. The functions of the KGB are strictly defined by the law. The purpose of the KGB is to help the state and society to solve the tasks before them. This help, however, is to be provided in specific ways.

KGB employees in the center and in the field support the profoundly democratic changes in the USSR, not on orders from above, but out of deep conviction. Because of the specific nature of their work, especially the access to comprehensive information, they probably see our society's complicated problems more clearly than other people do, and display a profound understanding of the reasons behind these problems and the way to solve them.

Is everything smooth inside the KGB? No. Many of the difficulties involved in the changes also apply to us, but the chief explanation for this is the mental inertia of individual employees and the effects of old stereotypes.

Taking the above into consideration, the present conditions allow no return to the past inside the KGB. The leadership, employees, and the whole of society would be firmly against it.

And another matter. It is absolutely untrue that nothing is changing inside the KGB.

Perestroyka is a process that has embraced every sphere of the life of our country, including the work of law protection bodies, in other words the KGB as well. Particular importance is attached to legal regulations controlling the work of these bodies, and guarantees that they will adhere to the law.

The work of the KGB is subject to constant supervision. At present this supervision is exercised by the Congress of People's Deputies; the USSR Supreme Soviet (both directly by the Supreme Soviet, or via the Committee for Defense and State Security); the president; the Constitutional Oversight Committee; the USSR Council of Ministers; and in the field by appropriate bodies of authority to the extent defined by the law. The Procuracy and Ministry of Finance also exercise controls within the framework of their duties.

A draft law on the KGB has just been worked out and placed before the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for its perusal. The legislative experience of other countries in this sphere was used in working out this draft. Apart from other methods of control, the draft calls for annual reports to the Council of Ministers by the KGB chairman on the subject of the KGB's activity. People's deputies of the USSR are entitled to obtain exhaustive information about the work of the KGB in accordance with their status, in other words, in line with their needs. The draft law does not place any limits on the openness of control over the KGB by supreme bodies of authority.

Confirming the fact that the KGB is changing, I would like to discuss its attitude toward past bodies of state security. The KGB has examined all the criminal activity of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD) during the Stalinist era. It is working very hard to restore the good name of Soviet and foreign citizens who have suffered innocently. As we know, this also involves clearing up the fate of the Polish officers who perished in the USSR during World War II.

One of the major paths of perestroyka inside KGB bodies is an expansion of the openness of their activity. The KGB leadership, especially KGB Chairman V. A. Kryuchkov, have clearly and honestly illustrated the essence of the changes to the work of the KGB in their speeches before the Supreme Soviet, during international forums, at meetings with diplomats, and in interviews for the Soviet and foreign press.

The work of KGB bodies is receiving increasingly broader coverage in the Soviet media. A special KGB Center for Contacts with Society has been set up for the benefit of contacts with organizations, citizens, and the press.

As far as former General Kalugin is concerned, he knows very well about the perestroyka taking place inside the KGB, but clearly prefers to ignore it. As a USSR citizen, he is entitled to present his assessments of the changes taking place in our country. But as a former employee, he has no right to spread secret information on the work of the KGB. In any case, the same principle applies to the employees of special services in every country.

And a final thought. As I have said, I am leaving Poland in a few days time. I am taking with me the best possible impressions of your country and the people with whom I had the fortune to talk and work. I was struck by the fact that Polish history means so much to so many Poles, and that so many Poles remember and respect those who died for the fatherland, and who performed services for it in various spheres—state, economic, cultural, scientific, social, military, and so on.

The way some Poles treat places dedicated to the memory of our soldiers, however, makes me sad. But I trust this is not a typical attitude among the Poles.

Official Discusses Warsaw Pact Reforms, Future

AU2808090590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jerzy M. Nowak, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and government plenipotentiary for negotiations on the reform of the Warsaw Pact, by Maria Wagrowska; place and date not given: "The Warsaw Pact—Within the 'Club' or Outside It?"]

[Text] [Wagrowska] Does reform of the Warsaw Pact make any sense? This grouping is clearly disintegrating and its member states are increasingly attracted to the Western alliance?

[Nowak] A disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, including its complete dissolution cannot be discounted. The ideological element, the artificial link, has now completely disappeared from the workings of this grouping. One of the alliance members—namely, the GDR, is shortly to disappear from the international relations arena altogether. The remaining "six" all hold different views on their membership. Poland will not want to artificially preserve the Warsaw Pact.

Eastern and Central Europe is still too unstable. A rapid disintegration of the Warsaw Pact could leave a "vacuum" that various forces, for example, nationalist ones, might begin to fill. In order to prevent this happening, we should give some thought to transforming the Warsaw Treaty Organization into a kind of "club" of those states that are interested in preserving stability in our region, in holding consultations among themselves on matters of disarmament, and in the creation of a new system of security in Europe. At the same time, it could be a treaty on collective self-defense as provided for by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter.

[Wagrowska] But is such a "club" feasible, because the common denominator of member states interests (those that are still members) is now so negligible?

[Nowak] It is true that this group of "six" is not a homogeneous group. The postcommunist states, after having regained their sovereignty are now formulating their foreign and defense policies in different ways, and their national interests in some cases seem to be conflicting. There are of course common interests that flow from their geographic and geostrategic position and the desire to have stability in the region. For the Soviet Union the Warsaw Pact is undoubtedly an element of its superpower status.

The West is aware of all these problems and does not seek to stimulate a dissolution of our alliance. It wants the Soviet Union to retain its feeling of security at this time of crisis and change and wants Central Europe to ensure its stability and regional security with its own forces. Additionally, there are ongoing negotiations on arms and conventional forces reductions in Europe, and these negotiations are based on the principle of the existence of two different blocs. These negotiations will provide the basis for further steps toward disarmament.

[Wagrowska] Isn't there a danger that the negotiated agreement will sanction the bipolar division of Europe?

[Nowak] The concept of a balance of interests between the two blocs, on which the negotiations were based, is fast becoming an anachronism. If, however, it is within possibility to achieve a substantial limitation of arms in Europe, then why should we not do so? In the future, steps toward disarmament will have to be on different principles. The Hungarians share this opinion, and, on the other side, France also supports this approach.

To sum up. The Warsaw Pact is ceasing to be indispensable, and Poland is leaving itself all possible options, including withdrawal from the Pact.

[Wagrowska] If Poland were to remain in the Warsaw Pact, on what conditions would this be?

[Nowak] Our participation is and will always be a function of Polish security, our interests, and the strategic aims of Polish foreign policy, which is the rapprochement towards Western Europe and entry into its integration structures. Our membership has to be subordinated to a quest for a new all-European security system and the paths to permanent stability on our continent and the economic reconstruction of the posttotalitarian states.

A second condition must be the principle of equality and sovereignty of the member states, so as not to allow a resurgence of the Soviet Union's hegemony. We should gradually withdraw from the military integrated structures. Third, our national Armed Forces ought to be solely under Polish command and must be ready to face all possible threats, from whichever direction these may come.

[Wagrowska] Are you saying that we are strengthening our defenses along our eastern border?

[Nowak] I am not a strategist, but I know that we must not be caught helpless in the eventuality of an unforeseeable development in the East. In discussions, there is talk of the so-called circular defense. This means that we are abandoning the old doctrine directed solely against the West. One of the conditions of our participation in the Warsaw Pact is that it must not have a confrontation character directed against the West, including NATO.

The Warsaw Pact has to abandon the coordination function and develop along strictly consultative and defensive lines.

[Wagrowska] And new organs will be made subordinate to it?

[Nowak] Yes. Poland supports the creation of three organs. First, a political one (this has previously been called the Political Advisory Committee; but not necessarily at the level of heads of state, rather at the level of foreign and defense ministers). Second, one for disarmament matters, and third, one for military cooperation and the dismantling of the present military structures.

Thus, we should dissolve the Joint Armed Forces and its supreme staff. The post of Supreme Commander of these forces should be abolished. The difficult question of the so-called unified system of air defense which is based on Soviet technology and equipment will be particularly difficult to solve. It has become outdated and has ceased to satisfy the requirements of national defense doctrines. The creation of a new one, however, will be extremely expensive.

[Wagrowska] One hears opinions that a reformed Warsaw Pact will exist until the time that a new all-European security system is in place. Do you not consider this to be extremely vague?

[Nowak] You are absolutely right. This is not my style of thinking. The concept of an all-European security system is extremely vague, and its creation is a long way off in the future. I believe that for the foreseeable future we shall have a transition system that will be composed of four interrelated subsystems. First, one within the framework of the North Atlantic alliance (in time this may extend territorially to include some countries of Central Europe). Second, one within the so-called, cooperative system of the CSCE states (to verify disarmament programs, to create confidence-building measures, but without the defensive aspect). Third, one stemming from the outcome of the Warsaw Pact reform (in the event of total dissolution this might be replaced by bilateral treaties). Fourth, one based on the EC and possibly the Western European Union.

[Wagrowska] The present reality still boils down to NATO and to a lesser extent, the Warsaw Pact. How do you see their relationship in the immediate future?

[Nowak] I have the impression that the countries which will belong to a reformed Warsaw Pact will oppose the institutionalized character of relations between the two alliances. (The Warsaw Pact will not have a coordination function). This is evident even today from our approach regarding the acceptance of a joint declaration on relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Poland will only sign this declaration under the condition that it is to be a declaration of individual countries that belong to the alliance and not a declaration between two blocs—this will permit the possibility of neutral and nonaligned countries joining the declaration—and that there is nothing in the declaration that obliges us to perpetuate the inter-bloc character of relationships in Europe, and finally that the declaration will aid the development of the CSCE process.

I foresee, however, the development of intensive bilateral contacts between the countries that make up the group of "six" and NATO.

Walesa Argues Need for Political Pluralism

PM2808152190 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 21 Aug 90 ("Revista" section) pp 2-3

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Bru Rovira; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Rovira] Are elections and the formation of political parties what Poland needs now?

[Walesa] I do not take issue with the political timetable. The government and parliament are working hard, but society is not taking part, and that is why I am complaining. This situation among the masses must be changed. When I say that it is necessary to accelerate, I am talking about the masses. Let those at the top follow the timetable they are discussing, let them continue with the laws, because they are doing that very well, but let them not forget the problem of the masses, let them not forget the need to make them participate.

[Rovira] You have announced that you wish to run in the presidential election...

[Walesa] I am still considering it. I always put myself in the place where I can do most for the reforms. The current system was built with my participation and my assistance. I have taken taken part personally in all the changes, although for the present I have chosen to continue to lead the trade union. Very well, I am here...for the present. What the politicians must not do is believe that the post that I have decided to hold does not entitle me to continue taking part in the reforms. Some people believe that I have placed somebody as prime minister, somebody else as leader of the parliamentary group, and there, that is it, it is over; Lech Walesa no longer has anything to say. No! I will continue to see to it that the reforms go ahead, and nobody can expect my influence to end.

[Rovira] The government would prefer you to be a man of unity....

[Walesa] Of course; you cannot be president of a fragment of the whole. You cannot be the driver of just one wheel of a car; you must drive the whole car, right?

[Rovira] But in the internal confrontations which Solidarity is experiencing, you talk about two "legs," two groups, the right and the left, and you seem to place yourself in the latter group, clashing with the other sector.

[Walesa] The fact is that until free elections are held, I have a duty to stimulate. That is what I swore I would do and is exactly what I am doing. Let us see: What do my opponents propose to me? They tell me: "You must be a figure of unity because it is the best thing for everybody." But unity was what we wanted to destroy with the Communists! So what is happening? It turns out that we have taken up the Communists unity. We have put ourselves in their place, and now we are also going to turn ourselves into that unity! Is this what we must do? No, we must not make the same mistakes.

[Rovira] They speak of unity in order to emerge from the crisis.

[Walesa] Look, if you were a bird and soared over Poland, you would see that we have taken the Communists place. Who is prime minister? A Solidarity man. Who is in the parliament? Solidarity. And who will soon be president? Again, a Solidarity man. So I say: What is happening? I am the father of all this, but somebody else will come after me, and he will use my system. It is impossible; I do not like it. This is why I have begun to stir things up, because I want the system to be pluralist and democratic.

[Rovira] How do you believe this political split should take shape?

[Walesa] How to split; yes, I have been thinking a great deal about how to split.... I was afraid of being accused of being an anti-Semite or nationalist, but I must split because otherwise we will be a monopoly. So what I have tried to do is to make a two-way split. Let the communists and socialists go to the left of Solidarity...and the Christians to the right. This is the split I would like, and hence I have formed the Center Accord.

[Rovira] In which you are leader.

[Walesa] Yes, and I have encouraged the others—the left—to do the same, although some of my colleagues still love unity. It is impossible. I can understand it in a situation of struggle, during a revolution. In a struggle, unity is essential, but then the work begins, and you must set to work divided. Pluralism is essential, despite friendship, because the trouble is that they are all friends of mine.

[Rovira] Some of whom accuse you of egotism, of being a dictator....

[Walesa] What can I do? If we keep this system, what prospects do we have? Look, in Poland today, if somebody is opposed to Solidarity, he has a very hard time, and in five years' time it could be even worse. I do not wish to destroy everything that we have accomplished; I am only thinking of the future, and this is why I want a split. The future now requires that those of us who struggled to change things—the activists—support others. The posts which we hold are not for us. They are for others—even for less honest people—if you will. What I am telling you is that we must build a system for the others. And my friends do not like it! Why? Because now that they hold power, they wish to continue to hold it...

[Rovira] Well...they believe that this is not the time for confrontations; that the economy must be put right first.

[Walesa] Stalin said the same thing! And when they woke up, it was too late. I do not know whether it is already becoming too late in Poland. Look how they resist! People can be reasonable; the economy can be put right if there are political parties. Are parties a nuisance? They talk about strikes, destruction...not about letting labor and politics go their own ways. Where is the danger of this happening? The danger—I will tell you—lies in the posts. I am not here in order to make a few reforms, and that is all. What do they want? That I should help them find good jobs for a couple of people and then cause no more trouble? "Look, Lech, cause no more trouble now; we are fine here now." Who is dishonest in this situation? I am entitled to do what I am doing. I put them in their posts and then they tell me: "Do not worry; we will do everything now...."

Declares 'Cannot Stand Idly By'

LD2808223390 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] paris, Aug. 28—"Today, I cannot Stand Idly By." Such was the headline of an interview Lech Walesa granted to LE FIGARO Paris daily.

The Solidarity leader told the paper that General Jaruzelski, whom Solidarity considered the only possible candidate for the office of head of the state in 1989, was elected president owing to Lech Walesa. Since then, Walesa "has had a moral right to be president of all Poles".

The Solidarity leader added that next he "imposed Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a candidate for prime ministerial post on the majority of Solidarity." Thus, "Walesa had another moral right: to continue reforms and struggle."

Presenting his concept of a political system in Poland, Walesa stressed that "one must introduce genuine political pluralism." "That is why I undertook an initiative to divide Solidarity into the left and right wings," he said. He thinks he cannot stand idly by under the current circumstances in Poland and he declares his assistance to the Polish Government in building "Poland that will be like Europe."

In his opinion, Solidarity must sustain its role as a trade union but at the same time it must safeguard reforms. "We should act as a big baton hanging above the government, not to hit it but to watch the introduction of reforms," he said.

Jun Polls Portray Public 'Bewilderment'

PM2808162390 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 7 Jul 90 p 6

[Stanislaw Kwiatkowski report: "Mixed Feelings: CBOS Says Government Is Right, so Is Walesa"]

[Text] There is much to indicate that the love felt by the Solidarity leadership for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is on the wane. Both parts have publicly announced a separation. Adam Michnik feels—as probably the prime minister himself does, too—that all is not lost yet and, just as with an old married couple, everything will eventually end in a family argument. Unfortunately, the civil war initiated by Lech Walesa is based on a deeper conflict and its causes, beside being very serious, are making our life difficult.

At a recent National Commission session (27 June), the Chairman openly declared: "We have already invested a lot in this government. Now it is time to look after our own interests. We can no longer afford to lose face and authority." (GAZETA WYBORCZA, 28 June).

Well, the losses are sizeable, obvious, and painful. Public approval for Solidarity and Lech Walesa decreased by some 30 percent over the past 6 months, and by the end of June, one out of four Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] respondents expressed disapproval with the union's and its chairman's activity. In an appraisal of their attitude to Solidarity, 35 percent of respondents described it as indifferent, and one out of 10 declared himself an opponent (16.5 percent declared themselves firm supporters, and 37 percent largely supporters). If elections to the Sejm and Senate were to be held next Sunday, 36.5 percent of the electorate would vote for Solidarity candidates (in addition to five percent who would support the Citizens' Committees.)

We do not need public opinion polls to know what the public mood is (I wrote about this last week). As many as 81 percent of those questioned live under constant stress and tension. General consensus has it that the coming weeks and months will not bring any change in the situation (29 percent), or that the tensions and stresses will probably become more pronounced (49 percent.) The confusion over the position of the Citizens Committees has multiplied the uncertainty and ambiguity of the present situation. How should we find our way in this jumbled-up accumulation of events? Who will give a clear answer to cut through our growing uncertainty? Could it be that the road we have chosen—and until now believed to be the only correct one—will now prove wrong? We were being assured for a long time that the Mazowiecki government had no other option, so what does the present attack against the Council of Ministers signify?

The confusion and lack of clear policy about the position of the Citizens Committees have resulted in general bewilderment, uncertainty as to the interpretation of the situation, and a lack of conviction about the correctness of the turn we have taken on our road. We can see the return of a sense of alienation, hopelessness, and fears about the still-uncertain future. We note the appearance of such slogans as "Come back commies," and "Come back Eddie [Gierek]—We will help you." These are, of course, satirical in their message, but can the authorities afford to ignore the significance of political satire?

The government is viewed with increasingly mixed feelings. Though 60 percent of respondents are convinced that the government policy is correct and provides a guarantee of an eventual emergence from the crisis, and only seven percent assess the government's performance to date as unsatisfactory, nevertheless most are in favor of changes in the personnel of the government. Such changes, according to their advocates, should be made by the respective heads of those sectors whose functioning is most criticized by the general public (interestingly enough, only 9.6 percent insist that reorganization of the government should be accompanied by the application of a party affiliation criterion.)

The government knows that it enjoys wide public support, but it also knows that this support is very flimsy and fragile and can change as easily as the fickle public opinion itself. The support is based solely on political approval, without any sound base of the economic interest of the major social groups. We should believe the prime minister, who maintains that he only represents the subject of the conflict rather than being one of the actual sides taking part in the conflict. Tadeusz Mazowiecki knows that he could only lose in this particular conflict, and, consequently, he has appealed for support to the Citizens Committees, looking for opportunities to survive the conflict and rescue the government. Without this support the government will be unable to counteract the increasing danger that the dissatisfied elements may form a nationwide alliance. Such an alliance is a realistic proposition, which would pose a threat not just to the government.

What will Lech Walesa do? After all, he could appoint himself the leader of the increasingly dissatisfied elements. Unrestrained interests of individual sectors could easily block the government's plans and actions. The Solidarity chairman has found himself in an unenviable situation: if he consents to a continuation of the present state of affairs, he will lose out in the eyes of public opinion, along with the entire government camp. If he strikes out against the government and Citizens Committees, he will also expose himself to criticism. An opinion poll representative of the views of Warsaw residents, conducted 28 June, showed that although, admittedly, Walesa was more often deemed to be right in the present conflict, nonetheless Mazowiecki attracted a larger group of supporters, hailing especially from intelligentsia circles. Whom should the Citizens Committees support? In reply to this question, 48 percent of respondents preferred Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, while ten percent spoke in favor of the Solidarity chairman (one-third failed to express an opinion, and the rest suggested still other candidates).

The motto "acceleration" meets with calculable approval. It evidently reflects the public needs of the moment with great accuracy. What do the respondents associate it with, according to a nationwide opinion survey conducted 26 June? The areas where acceleration should be applied were listed as follows:

government personnel changes—61 percent;

pace and range of privatization—55 percent;

dynamics of production, even at the cost of increased inflation—38.5 percent;

Sejm and Senate elections—38 percent;

transformation of Citizens Committees into a forum for a variety of parties and political groups—33.5 percent;

election of Lech Walesa to the post of president, conducted by the present parliament—23 percent.

Lech Walesa was the preferred presidential candidate of 15.6 percent of respondents. Tadeusz Mazowiecki has the vote of 18 percent, and Wojciech Jaruzelski of 12 percent of respondents.

Official Assesses Privatization, Legislation

AU2708131390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Krzysztof Lis, government plenipotentiary for ownership transformations, by Joanna Trepkowska; place and date not given: "Privatization Overture"]

[Text] [Trepkowska] What stage have preparations now reached for the privatization of state enterprises?

[Lis] First and foremost, we now have two basic laws: the Privatization of State Enterprise Act and the Office of Minister for Ownership Transformations Act. When it next meets, parliament will appoint a minister, and so there will be a state administrative organ that will be capable of making concrete privatization decisions. This does not mean, however, that we feel that we have been relieved of the duty of preparing the complicated privatization process and creating the necessary infrastructure.

We are organizing the ministry, because just three days ago it moved to new premises at No. 5 Mysiej Street, a building that housed the censor's office until recently. We are looking for employees. I would like to take this opportunity to extend an invitation to work for us to people with a background in law, finance, and economics and with a knowledge of foreign languages, especially English.

In making preparations for privatization, we are establishing contacts with enterprises and working together with them. We already have 15 reports on various enterprises prepared by consultancy firms. Experts are at work in another 30 plants.

[Trepkowska] In your opinion, which enterprises do not seem to be suited for privatization?

[Lis] Essentially, under the law, every kind of enterprise is suitable for privatization. Privatization, however, may take various forms. In some enterprises, which are considered very good, privatization may occur immediately. In other cases, where an enterprise is going into liquidation for economic reasons, privatization will depend on the sale of assets.

[Trepkowska] So, it will be synonymous with bankruptcy?

[Lis] Yes, we will be selling what is left after bankruptcy. These are, of course, two extreme examples of privatization. It will also be possible to separate firms, however, that cannot at this stage be placed among the good or the bankrupt ones. They should either restructure in a way that will lead them into the first group or they will find themselves in the second group, where privatization, which is synonymous with liquidation, will be painful. Of course, what we want to see is privatization that would be a positive action and would only affect good firms.

[Trepkowska] The first step on the path to privatization is filing an application to have an enterprise turned into a state treasury company. Under the law, only then will shares be issued and sold.

[Lis] So far we have received more than 100 such applications. So, there are many clients. Unfortunately, it is too often the case that enterprises which are weak or close to bankruptcy want to make use of the opportunity to privatize: They are the of the kind that are only suitable for privatization as part of the liquidation process.

[Trepkowska] Is the ministry itself proposing privatization to certain enterprises?

[Lis] In preparing a detailed privatization program, we are ourselves breaking down the market into parts. We look at individual enterprises and, of course, we propose privatization to those that, in our opinion, should make use of the opportunity to privatize provided by the law. We submit these proposals to enterprise directors and employee councils. Some have confirmed that they are interested, and others are just at the stage of considering them.

[Trepkowska] Will certain sectors of the national economy or individual enterprises be excluded from privatization over the next few years for various reasons? Is there a list of such firms?

[Lis] We have raised this question with individual ministries and the Central Planning Administration. The principle that we proceed from is that choices of this kind can be made by the institutions that shape economic policy.

[Trepkowska] What does privatization mean for the capital market?

[Lis] Above all, an infrastructure has to be prepared for the market. As securities are going to appear, there has to be an appropriate law regulating trade in securities and the way in which they are to to be issued. A draft of a first version has already been prepared. Next week we will submit it for interdepartmental consideration, and we will present it at the Council of Minister Economic Committee meeting. We think that the government will present the bill to the Sejm in September.

The law on trading in securities will serve as the basis for establishing a Securities Commission. It will seek to ensure that irresponsible investors do not try to "borrow" money and then to disappear with it, as, for example, Mr. Grobelny did, or to maintain that a particular venture has failed. Of course, this will not completely protect persons who have securities from a certain risk, but the Securities Commission will set standards that will have to be met by companies that intend to raise capital from private citizens.

Enterprises that intend to become private companies will have to present a public report describing the activities that they intend to pursue; they will have to provide detailed information.

The stock exchange is an important element of the capital market. Foreign assistance will be needed in this field. We have received offers from the Americans and the French, and we will choose a partner shortly. We are currently looking for a building to house the stock exchange. We also have to work with future brokers; license and train them; and we will also have to train Securities Commission officials.

[Trepkowska] It is hard to imagine the privatization of enterprises and the functioning of a capital market without trained financial advisers or firms of consultants.

[Lis] At the moment we are working together with 60 of the 137 firms of consultants that have applied to us. We want concrete activities in individual enterprises to be conducted by these firms and not by officials from the Ministry of Ownership Transformations. We want to privatize the privatization process. We have also employed several foreign banks. They will carry out privatization operations in the presence of Polish specialists and firms of consultants. It will provide our personnel with a training involving concrete cases.

[Trepkowska] How will the private investor who wants to invest his savings in the shares of a private company be able to obtain advice on what he should choose and which securities he should buy?

[Lis] He will be able to obtain such advice from one of these consultant firms, which will have reports that meet the required standards on the enterprises that are being privatized. These reports will also be generally available.

[Trepkowska] Thank you.

Government Economic Committee Views Trends

LD2808222990 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 28—The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers KERM today recommended a task group it had earlier appointed to speed up work on the farmers' social security bill to have it ready for parliamentary debate by September.

The KERM also acquainted itself with the expected development of economic situation in Poland by the end of this year judging from economic performance in the first half of 1990.

A document submitted by the Central Planning Office recalls that macroeconomic policy over the first 6 months of the year was oriented for setting order in the financial system, stabilizing the currency, and control of hyperinflation.

The employed instruments of taxation, budgetary, monetary, crediting, and income policy brought about considerable decline in the demand and global balancing of the economy, but simultaneously, it caused (with high surplus in foreign trade) greater than expected recession. This did not result in liquidation of inefficient enterprises.

The macroeconomic policy over the second half of this year has gradually become a policy of the economy's re-animation, forcing changes in its structure while further sorting out continues in price relations, and limitation of the effects of inflation.

Positive trends which should be continued include stabilisation of exchange rates, exports growth, inflation decline, lower interest rates, and balance on the market of goods and services.

Taking advantage of being a monopolist by enterprises must be countered along with inferior quality services, poor condition of technical infrastructure, and regional concentration of unemployment. These issues will be further discussed at the forthcoming KERM meetings.

The committee also acquainted itself with the outcome of central investment review carried out this year. It was necessary because of dramatic price increase, economic hardship, and material production decline, which made previous cost estimates useless. The Central Planning Office, in cooperation with the Finance Ministry and the National Bank of Poland proposed to reschedule a number of investments by 1-4 years.

The KERM also appointed a task group responsible for proposing ways of attracting foreign capital to help complete unfinished central investments.

Military Police Created; Commander States Aims

AU2808131990 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 24-26 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—Taking into account the changes to the functioning of our Army under the country's new socio-political conditions and the restructuring of the Armed Forces, the minister of national defense has issued an order to create the Military Police [Zandarmeria Wojskowa]. "Having defined the framework of its activities and organization, we are now completing the details," General of Brigade Jerzy Jarosz, commander in chief of the new Military Police, told PAP.

"The tasks of the Military Police, which will become operational on 1 September, will cover three basic areas. The first consists of discovering crime in the Armed Forces and finding the perpetrators. The second sphere involves counteracting all violations of military discipline by soldiers outside their units. The third sphere, which is no less important, consists of a broad range of preventive undertakings by the Military Police inside military units.

"The central body of the Military Police is a Main Command, under the authority of the chief of the Polish Army Main Administration of Combat Training. Beneath the Main Command are Regional Commands in the Warsaw, Pomeranian, and Silesian Military Districts. These Regional Commands are in charge of six sections in Bydgoszcz, Krakow, Poznan, Szczecin, Wroclaw, and Warsaw. Further down are are 18 units in cities like Gdansk, Gdynia, Katowice, Liblin, Lodz, Opole, Rzeszow, and Torun. Finally, there are several dozen Military Police posts all over the country. A Military Gendarmerie Training Center is being established on the premises of the old Internal Military Service Training Center in Minsk Mazowiecki.

"The officers holding leadership posts in Military Police sections and units are young people, with an average age of 34, and have the necessary training and specialized experience. Ninety percent of the officers have completed further education in law or teaching.

"The soldiers undergoing their compulsory military service in the Military Police will have specific psychological and physical characteristics. Intelligence, a high standard of ethics, and physical fitness will be decisive.

"It is foreseen that military policemen will wear square caps with a scarlet band, plus black belts and black boots. These items will fit the traditional khaki uniform. In accordance with international custom, military policemen on traffic duty will wear a white belt, white gaiters, and a white helmet," said General Jarosz.

Home Army Backs Kaczorowski for President

LD2508021790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The National Executive Council of the Independent Veterans Movement of the Home Army and the Loyalty to the Republic Party have voiced their support for the readiness expressed by the president of the Polish Republic in exile, Ryszard Kaczorowski, to undertake constitutional duties in Poland until such a time as a National Assembly would be constituted in free elections. An appeal was made to the Sejm and to the Senate to accept this proposal. A similar stand was taken by the Polish Green Party.

Morawiecki Sets Out Presidential Platform

LD2708100390 Warsaw PAP in English 0914 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Tarnobrzeg, Aug. 27—At his meeting in Stalowa Wola yesterday, Kornel Morawiecki, the founder of fighting Solidarity and the leader of the Freedom Party, said that if he were elected president, he would suspend the repayment of Poland's foreign debt and take steps to invigorate economy through supporting those who are directly involved in production.

In his opinion, the most important thing is to reach society and those who instead of being happy that communism was toppled, are sad and disappointed because they cannot make two ends meet, Morawiecki said.

Reportage on Walesa's Visit to Italy

WA2808183890

For reportage on the visit by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, including excerpts of his speech to an international youth meeting in Rimini and his meeting with Pope John Paul II, please see the Italy section of the 28 August West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Iliescu Denies Militaru, Brucan Revolution Claims

AU2808102590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0941 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Picture of the Revolution—Commentary by President Iliescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—In connection with the interview published by daily ADEVARUL with Silviu Brucan and Nicolae Militaru, President Ion Iliescu signs in today's issue of the same daily the following commentary:

Of course, any accounts on the political dissidence in the period of Ceausescu's regime and on the December events are welcome in a way to add to the sources of information, useful for the future analysts and historians to establish the picture of this chapter of contemporary history. Unfortunately, most of us, who were in the heat of the events, have not had time to review the facts we lived and make the points that were needed, which allows for their often imprecise presentation and for the circulation of lies or the making up of stories that have nothing to do with reality. No doubt, all accounts are marked by subjectivism and Mr. Darie Novaceanu's two collocutors are no exception. This is a human weakness nobody is shielded against. Yet, the account published in ADEVARUL bears an even exaggerated subjectivism verging on egocentrism. On reading it, one might believe the two were in the focus of all events prior to and during the popular revolution.

Surprising is especially the simplist approach of the events by a politologist, like Mr. Brucan claims to be, who views the December Romanian revolution as the outcome of a "conspiracy". As a matter of fact this outlook is not even original. It only takes over the slogans which a certain internal and international press tries to pass as true.

The historical process was by far more complex. The December events had the character of a genuine mass outburst, resulting from the long accumulation of great discontent stemmed from the degradation of the Romanian society's economic, social, political, spiritual and moral life. Because of the repressive regime of quite unusual proportions of the totalitarian regime established by Ceausescu, measures to change the system from inside were not possible in Romania the way it happened in the other neighbor countries. The only solution that imposed itself was a genuine social blow up.

This does not mean that in our country did not exist multiple attempts to find solutions and change the system, as well as stands taken, individual and collective protests and disapproval of the regime. So, were we to speak of a "conspiracy", then we should rather say a multitude of "conspiracies". In a way the whole people profoundly dissatisfied with the degradation of the economic and social life participated in the big "plotting" against Ceausescu. Mr. Brucan is right to say that the dissidence against Ceausescu started from the very moment of Ceausescu's appointment as secretary-general. One of the first members of the then leadership to have dissociated himself from Ceausescu was in fact Alexandru Barladeanu. The intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was used by Ceausescu to consolidate his position, since the branding of that intervention met with a genuine national consensus. But subsequently Ceausescu's tendency showed clear to make of the national support a requisite of building his personal dictatorship. The most clear instance was in 1971, on the launching of the "cultural minirevolution" when emerged also the well-known conflict that opposed me to Ceausescu and resulted in the removal also of other personalities from the country's political and cultural life. Especially by the end of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s the phenomena of crisis and the sources of discontent of various social categories grew. They showed in the miners' protest movement in 1977 and in the Brasov workers' protest in 1987, in various forms of expression of criticism and discontent from men of science and culture, from party and state activists, both in public forms and in a more private framework. So, in such conditions, the whole dissidence movement cannot be limited to the actions of some army cadres and the stands taken by Mr. Brucan, referred to by Messrs. Brucan and Militaru. Without mitigating the merits of those mentioned in their account, they should be assessed in the context of the whole unfolding of the socio-political life in the country and more decently and modestly integrated in the dissident movements of those years in Romania.

In this respect I regard certain assessments comprised in the accounts published as unfit and in disagreement with the historical truth. For instance, Mr. Brucan's allegation that General Militaru was to be credited with the attitude of the Army in support of the December revolution (an assessment showing lack of respect and consideration for the Army as a whole and for its command). General Militaru was entrusted with the Ministry of National Defense only on December 24, 1989, while the Army had sided with the population in Timisoara on December 20 already and in Bucharest, from the night of 21 to 22 December. The Army's attitude cannot be to the credit of the influence of General Militaru and the group of officers with whom he was in touch. It is about a far larger and deeper process that occurred in time in the Army. Likewise, it is not correct that the important forces the Securitate had did not interfere as a result of General Militaru's influence, who allegedly established connections with the commanders of the battalion that ensured the guard of the Central Committee and of the State Council. The Securitate's behavior too, should be viewed in the context of the processes in the Romanian society, that were not inconsequential in the conscience of most of the workers of that institution. As a matter of fact, Mr. Silviu Brucan mistakes all components of certain units (the Baneasa Military School, the USLA (Special Units of Anti-Terrorist Fight), the Fifth Department and the Bucharest City Securitate) totalling over 4,000 effectives for terrorists. Had they acted against the demonstrators it would have really been a great tragedy with unforeseeable results, considering their equipment. The truth is that most of them did not only not participate in such actions, but they actually joined the Army, participating in the defense of attacked institutions, even making blood sacrifices (as was the case of the USLA combatants). Mr. Brucan speaks very self-assuredly of other aspects too as if they were checked truths, for instance the fate of certain terrorists or the presence of foreign terrorists. I must admit it that I am not that sure and I would not venture allegations so self-assuredly about things that still take numerous elucidations. There would be also other details the approach of which by the two authors is puzzling and of a nature to create confusion and fuel suspicion in connection with certain facts and events. I think on approaching these things one should be more responsible, facts and information should be checked and one should show [oneself] more decent and modest.

* Speculations Made on Attempted Coups

90BA0283D Bucharest AZI in Romanian 15 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[B. Tudor article]

[Text] One of the questions that is troubling the spirits these days is whether the events which occurred on 28 January, 18 February, and 13 June were an attempted coup or not. The opposition unanimously sniggers on hearing such things, because some members of this extremist opposition already view themselves as experts in "genuine" democracy, especially since in the meantime they received a fistful of dollars and a few cars from generous Western supporters. Thus, Cornel Nistorescu in his famous superficial style, after correctly observing that the official bodies who should have answered this question have not done their duty, adds the same comic opera coloring to the above events. It is true that he did so in the magazine CUVINTUL, which offers an excellent example of the axiom that, "When literary critics dabble in politics, the result is the same as when war ministers lecture on literary theory."

An attempted coup d'etat is an attempt by an organized group to take over the power through illegal means. The question is then: Was the purpose of all those events to overthrow the FSN [National Salvation Front]? And if yes, were the means used legal, constitutional, and democratic? As far as we know, the only such attempt, i.e., legal and democratic, were the 20 May elections. As for the rest....

Nothing serious happened on 28 January Cornel Nistorescu told us, except that it was "requested" (and how!) "that the FSN as a political party be separated from the executive power." This phrase belongs to the reserve of lies in which the extremist opposition interminably smothers the press, and we are surprised (should it still surprise us?) that Mr. Nistorescu does not mind placing himself in such a posture. What Mr. Coposu requested at the time (the written word does not lie) was that the FSN relinquish the power to the three historical parties which had not even finished organizing themselves and who came with hundreds of demonstrators behind them, some paid, others persuaded. This intention was clearly confirmed by previous writings originating in Mr. Ratiu's London office ("The FSN does not even have the right to participate in the elections!!!"), as well as by Mr. Cimpeanu, who in a subsequent interview for Radio Free Europe, showed greater reserve toward such a forceful attack. So in actual fact, a group of several elderly activists of former parties, prompted by the same violent impulses that they exhibited in the electoral campaign, too, tried to take over power, obviously in an undemocratic, unconstitutional, and illegal fashion. What was that if not an attempted coup?

The strategy then seemed to change. Convinced that the "democratic" parties (is not it so...) alone did not have the necessary power and that—in view of the emergence of many other parties—the "historical" parties had no excuse to present themselves as the sole bearers of the seeds of democracy on Romanian soil (as they did in January), they cooked up another scenario. Which? The only "democratic" one, of course: Have the Army seize power! It is to be assumed that foreign forces, too, opted, especially after the election, for the latter version, the only one capable of saving their reputation as historical guardians of democracy. Because it would be compromising (although there are enough precedents) to bring "true" democracy to Romania through a coup d'etat which, on top of everything else, would void the results of truly democratic elections! But if the Army seized power, that would have been OK. It would have canceled the results of the 20 May elections and thus the FSN would have been brought down to its knees and the "great losers" (the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Romanian Social-Democratic Party) would have won their "victory." The latter's chances would once again have been revived.

On 18 February, suspicious agents (of the FSN, C. Nistorescu, and S. Tanase would say) were urging the Army to seize power! And the same happened on 13 June: The objective was to create the kind of chaos that would justify a military putsch. Is this interpretation too far fetched, Mr. Nistorescu? However, Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu has now confirmed what until recently were only suspicions. Namely that he had been invited to take the power. By whom? By forces "in the country and abroad!"

The forces abroad are undoubtedly the ones that support the extremist internal opposition. Which other domestic forces can there be, "other than the FSN?" Evidently all those forces which made a spectacle of themselves in the "luminous" Hooligans Square: the historical parties, underground fascist-type paramilitary organizations, and foreign agents (as the SRI director unequivocally stated). Who were the leaders? Some of them are known; some are senators or deputies, others have escaped (Mazilu and Lupoi), some spend their hard currency on the GDS [Group for Social Dialogue] or wandering the world to sabotage the regime, some are being questioned under arrest, and so forth.

So what they wanted was a military dictatorship! They wanted to use General Stanculescu in order to oust Iliescu and Roman. They wanted to eliminate a party (like in Latin America, Mr. Nistorescu!), namely the FSN, through a military putsch. Pretty democratic methods, what, Mr. Nistorescu? What should we think of that opposition which is focusing all its energies on such base maneuvers, leaving the country's cares to others, to the FSN, more precisely?

But let us take one step farther: Why is it that our right-wing extremists (the Group for Social Dialogue, the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party—or rather, their octogenarian leaders—and the well-known "leagues" and "alliances") wanted none other than Gen. Stanculescu? Can it be only because he was head of the Army? Because there must have been others, too. Because according to their plan, after the military dictatorship was installed, a "Timisora file" would have been put together for Gen. Stanculescu! And then, after the Army was discredited, having civilians seize the power would have been a cinch.

Was it an attempted coup, or was not it? Let us quote the opinion of British Deputy George Galloway, who was in Bucharest on 13-15 June, as he expressed it in the House of Commons on 28 June: "I can assure the minister that if what I saw with my own eyes was not an attempted coup, then I do not know what an attempted coup is."

If it comes to chosing between a professional politician like Galloway and Mr. Nistorescu of the EXPRESS, I will take the former.

Party Leaders View University Square Events

AU2808115090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Political Life—Political Parties' Opinions on Recent Events in the University Square in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—In its August 28 issue the daily "ADEVARUL" starts publishing the opinions of certain political parties on the recent events in the University Square in Bucharest.

Serghei Mesaros, chairman of the National Democratic Party, considers these events to lead to political confusion. They are infractions of the law and although not assumed by any political or nonpolitical formation prove to have been organized in advance.

The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party says it "has no connection with the events going on in the University Square" and "challanges any hint that would involve the party in the demonstration."

"We don't know who the demonstrators are and do not agree with their action. That must be some scheme aimed at distorting Romania's image in the world," says in his turn Dumitru Stepanov, vice-chairman of the Free Democratic Party.

Mircea Stanescu, secretary to the Romanian Social Democratic Party points out that so far it is not at all clear who the demonstrators are and what they aim at and is of the opinion that the big acts (such as injuries and arrests), which is probably not what the youth want.

Further on Various Party Views

AU2908105490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0934 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1990—The newspaper "ADEVARUL" continues to print views expressed by various parties and political groupings in Romania in connection with the events in Bucharest's University Square.

Showing that the National Liberal Party [PNL] is in no way linked to the events in the square, its president, Mr. Radu Campeanu, points out that the PNL does not know "who is behind the attempts to create trouble in University Square. I believe that, against the background of general discontent, any initiative will easily find performers."

"Given the complex situation in this country in every respect and more particularly, the hot spots in Transylvania, Mr. Ion Minzatu chairman of the Republican Party, says in his turn, well-masked external forces with the help of as well-masked internal factors perfected a scenario the aim of which is to shift the attention of the authorities and of the public opinion on to sites that have nothing in common with their true intentions."

The leadership of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party released a communique showing inter alia: "The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party has nothing to do with the events in University Square." Showing that those events could be a result of the citizens' growing discontent at the delay in Romania's becoming a state of law, the National Peasant Party communique says there might be provocations intended to discredit the demonstration in University Square in April, May and June. In conclusion, the National Peasant Party appeals to the population urging them to refrain from actions that might jeopardize "the fragile democracy in Romania."

"We think that the people demonstrating in University Square aim at maintaining a state of tension, insecurity and socio-political instability, as the only way to serve certain interests, possibly, interests outside this country," shows Mr. Lucian Gruia, president of the Romanian Ecological Party.

Showing that of late "University Square has turned into a true 'agora' of public debate, the way it happens in numerous other capital cities of the world, and has become a true forum of democracy," the Ecological Movement of Romania welcomes the creation of "such a public forum, which is ineluctable in the process of forming a civil society."

On the other hand, the Ecological Movement of Romania expresses its concern over "provoking tendencies" in University Square," "which have nothing in common with freedom and democracy."

The Independent Socialist Justice Party and the Labour Party Express indignation at the "destablizing events in University Suare," considering that order in the capital city should be established as soon as possible.

Disturbance in University Square Reported

AU2808202290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—On Tuesday, August 28, at 19.00 hours [1600 GMT], about 50 persons blocked part of the roadway in the University Square area, where there were also several hundred onlookers.

Brasov Strikers To Hold Open Rally 29 Aug

AU2808181690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—The general strike continues at "Tractorul" factory in Brasov; it began on August 24, as a result of the dissatisfaction caused by the government's press office communique.

Mr. Vasile Stoicev, leader of the "Dreptate si Fratie" ["Justice and Brotherhood"] union, made a statement to the effect that the strikers have decided to organize a meeting in town tomorrow, August 29.

Press on Brasov Tractorul Workers Strike

AU2908110790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0954 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1990—The strike of the "Tractorul" workers in Brasov continues, causing to the national economy a damage of 20 million lei a day which gives rise to worried commentaries in the Romanian press.

"This strike thwarts not only the illusion of the governmental moratorium but also the hope for stability in the national economy in the period of transition", notes daily TINERETUL LIBER under the headline "Revolt in the Cooking in Brasov."

True, by proclaiming the right to strike, daily ADEVARUL stresses, some trade unions use it as a legitimacy of their dislike for work, but other factors too, should also be considered.

For instance, the Decree-Law No. 25/1990 that allowed for the 50-75 per cent pay has not proved to be the best solution of the transition government.

One should be tactful and understand the mass psychology and the government should let aside its pride, the daily concludes.

Roman Discusses Winter Food Supplies

AU2808111290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0910 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Official News—Premier Talks on the Phone With Prefects"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—On Monday [27 August], Prime Minister Petre Roman talked on the phone with the prefects of the 40 counties and the mayor of the capital city approaching questions related to food resources and the population's supply with food over the ensuing period and winter, the course of the agricultural campaign and other various aspects of the activity of the prefects appointed by the government.

On that occasion Mr. Petre Roman made a general assessment of the way in which the prefects fulfilled their duties stating that in his opinion "in each county the prefect's office started implementing the government's policy". The prime minister informed the prefects that an estimation of food resources for the population had been made at a national level which shows that some products meet the people's requirements to a large extent while the differences among counties as far as the farm production that reaches the population is concerned raise certain problems. Mr. Petre Roman called on all counties that have obligations in this respect to honor their contracts with the other counties, the industrialized ones in particular, stressing the need to ensure a satisfactory supply of the population throughout the country.

Referring further to the present scarce products—flour, sugar, edible oil, sorts of cheese—the prime minister showed that the counties should make a correct estimation of their resources in that field and take measures for rationing in case of special conditions.

Approaching the agricultural campaign, the prime minister showed that concerning the autumn stalky cereals the Ministry of Agriculture and Food has elaborated for next year a better structure in accord with the counties' proposals for corn, rye, barley and autumn two-row barley.

Noting that there are certain tensions in connection with the producer cooperative farms' situation, Mr. Petre Roman referred inter alia to the problems posed by the producer cooperative farms' pensioners and proposed the setting up of a pensions society for agricultural workers. At the same time, the prime minister considered it necessary the attentive approach regarding the restructuring of the producer cooperative farms into free associations or other forms which should take into consideration the real possibilities to till the land with modern technology. The government, Mr. Petre Roman showed, intends to initiate a law according to which what has been distributed in keeping with the January's decree-law become in fact effective property.

Riot at Miercurea Ciuc Prison Reported

AU2808114790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1030 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28,8/1990—Some one quarter of the inmates of the jail in Miercurea Ciuc rebelled on Sunday, August 26 night, at about 20:00. Rioting inmates attacked from the rooftop the guards, hurling bottles and other objects at them and giving the jail commander an ultimatum. Their "claims" were of a constitutional-penal nature, so they did not fall within the competence of the penitentiary department.

The dialogue with the inmates and their leaders was a perfect failure. On Monday morning the concerted action of the guards, police, geandarmes, firemen and other troops restored the order. Tear gas projectiles were used and warning fires shot. No inmate fled.

Nicu Ceausescu Admitted to Hospital Under Guard

AU2808181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—During an open session on 28 August 1990, the Supreme Court—the Military Section—upheld the appeal of Romania's Prosecutor's Office—the Military Prosecutors Department—overruling the decision of the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal of 23 August 1990 to revoke custody.

The defendant will be admitted, under guard, to a hospital for tests by Health Ministry specialists. The tests would determine if the defendant could be treated in a prison hospital.

Severin on Bills Submitted to Parliamentary Debate

AU2808182290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1651 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—Minister Adrian Severin presented to the press several of the government's legal initiatives which have been or are to be submitted to the parliament after their summer holidays.

He referred firstly to the law of commercial societies according to which a unique system will be created for the setting up and functioning of commercial societies no matter if they are former state-run units or have been set up as private or foreign stock companies.

A packet of normative acts refer to the financial-banking reform. Laws will be elaborated regarding the setting up and functioning of the National Bank to become a monetary emission bank as well as of private banks or foreign stock banks. At the same time a new law of finances is working at which will stipulate the sources of income for the budget, the tax system, and others. On that occasion the government also intends to modify one of the provisions in the Decree-Law No. 96 stipulating that the foreign capital investors could transfer abroad only 8 per cent of their benefits in lei that is to increase that percentage.

The government also intends to elaborate a series of laws of land, selling of dwellings and buildings as well as on social protection regarding unemployment, strikes, trade unions, overall agreement and pay principles.

A law of the administration legal departments is also under preparation which will regulate the natural and juristic persons' right to sue the state administration bodies.

* Aims of Center-Left Alliance Cited

90BA0283C Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 15 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with Socialist Justice Party Alexandru Dan Popescu by Emilia Vasiliu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Vasiliu] We note an interesting political phenomenon which has evidently intensified in the postelectoral period—namely, the formation of alliances among parties. The party you represent recently joined such an alliance—namely, the (Social-Democratic) Center-Left Alliance [ACS (S-D)]. Please tell us what was the objective of this unification of forces and what actions will be taken to implement it.

[Popescu] The basic principle or purpose of the alliance is to promote the basic values of democracy, simultaneously with promoting the economic, social, and political recovery of the country and building a new economy. Along this line I want to add that we are an active and constructive alliance with no intention of obstructing government actions. However, while struggling to promote the interests of the working people, we reserve the right to intervene and protest in support of the large class of producers (and the country badly needs them to work!), should the government take any measure apt to affect their interests. We support and will continue to support any governmental measures designed to restructure Romania's entire life for the benefit of all of us. As for the means, I want to stress that the alliance is resolutely against violence and any form of extremism that may lead to destruction, material damages, tension, and instability in the society. In fact, this point is expressedly stated in our platform and any instances in which members of our party participate in unofficial meetings will be examined and subjected to fit measures.

[Vasiliu] How did you reach the present formula of the alliance and who has contributed to it?

[Popescu] Negotiations to form this ACS (S-D) began immediately after 20 May. The four parties, i.e., the

Cooperative Party, the Democratic Labor Party, the Romanian Party for a New Society, and the Socialist Justice Party began to cooperate already during the electoral campaign; they divided up their actions according to geographical areas, so that the limited funds available could be used for mutual, efficient assistance. After its formation, the alliance was also joined by the political movement of the Workers Technical-Economic Alliance (Labor).

[Vasiliu] Do the specific features of the parties become "blurred" when they join the alliance and is uniformity achieved within this umbrella formula?

[Popescu] Not at all. The parties that make up the alliance will preserve their own political identity and will continue to promote their program and statutes. Any interference in the internal life of the member parties is a priori banned. Naturally, the ACS (S-D) does have a political program, agreed upon by consensus, as well as other documents, some of which are now in the process of being finalized; for example, we have joint documents on the bills and draft bills pending the approval of the House of Deputies and the Senate.

At the same time, there is considerable convergence among our viewpoints and political stands on the major issues of the country. For example, all of us want the new Constitution to stipulate a presidential republic as the form of government, and we act to establish de facto democracy and a law based on a constitutional parliamentary system, the separation of powers, and political pluralism. Anyone who wants to join the alliance in agreement with these principles is welcome to do so; the formula we adopted is not a closed book, on the contrary, it is open to any party that can identify with these principles.

[Vasiliu] What are the present political priorities of the (social-democratic) ACS (S-D)?

[Popescu] We are already preparing for local elections through the candidates we had in each county, through the cells and branches we had on 20 May, or through the ones established since then.

Our party intends to expand the publication of GLASUL [the Voice] throughout the country, with a view to securing a platform for expressing its ideas in all the counties. We already started GLASUL PRAHOVEI [the Voice of Prahova] which, it is important to note, does not address only Prahova County, but also deals with the issues of neighboring counties. I want to take this opportunity to add that we encountered great difficulties printing this newspaper at the Ploiesti polygraphic enterprise, although the prefect and county officials showed great understanding for us. As at many other printing shops, someone of 'goodwill' was found here, too, to throw a wrench in the works.

PRNU Demands Hungary Pay for WWII Damage

AU2708135090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1010 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1990—The Steering Committee of the Party of Romanians' National Unity [PRNU] has given in Cluj-Napoca a release on the commemoration on August 30 of 50 years since Horthyist Hungary invaded a part of Transylvania as a result of the Vienna diktat. Among other things, the release demands that Hungary should officially and publicly apologize to the Romanian people for the atrocities committed in Transylvania's territory 50 years ago. Also, the signatories to the release demand the Romanian Government to urgently take the necessary steps for the matter to be made known to the whole international community, concomitant with the request that Hungary pay moral and material damage for what it inflicted on the Romanian people during the unjust, temporary occupation of a part of Transylvania.

50th Anniversary of 'Vienna Award' Marked

Transylvanian Army Appeals to Nation

AU2808182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Appeal to the People by the Army in Transylvania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—In an appeal to the entire Romanian people on the commemoration of 50 years since the Vienna Award—a criminal act that tore up Romania's body violating any norms of justice and international law, of respect for historical truth—the Army of Transylvania calls to "unity, lucid and resolved action, to vigilance and reason to be up to the historic moment the country lives."

The problems of Transylvania, that concern us at present, the appeal reads, are the problems of the entire country and they must be solved with a high sense of responsibility in a climate of calm and understanding, of freedom and order.

In consideration of the fact that in the Army there are Romanian citizens of various nationalities, religious beliefs or political conceptions we are aware that we must be, and we will be, in the first ranks of the fight for everyone to enjoy the same rights, to have the same obligations and duties. We are for the full recognition of the legitimate rights of the Romanian citizens of other ethnic origin, of their faith and traditions, but we cannot consider separatist tendencies, the wish to get privileges as manifestations of human rights, as a process apt to ensure a peaceful and prosperous coexistence.

The appeal is signed by the commander of the Army of Transylvania Colonel General Paul Cheler.

PND Statement on Commemoration

AU2808195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Communique of the National Democratic Party Regarding the Anniversary of the Vienna Award"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—In these moments, the communique reads, the National Democratic Party [PND] in accord with the Romanian Foreign Ministry's stand requires the commemoration in peace of the tragical events of August 1940. At the same time we solemnly state that we will permit nobody, be he a native or a foreigner, to initiate or carry out actions meant to jeopardize our country's integrity or to harm national dignity.

We consider that in the present situation the government and the local state power bodies should firmly act to prevent and counteract any manifestations conducive to the disunion of Transylvanian citizens, with unforeseeable consequences upon the social and political climate in that area. Through its actions the government should clearly show that all those trying to intimidate Romania or Transylvania's population will have no chance.

UDMR Condemns 'Subordination'

AU2808204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1951 GMT 28 Aug 90

["MDUR Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—On the commemoration, on 30 August, of 50 years since the signing of the Vienna Award, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] made a statement which shows inter alia:

"The lucid witnesses of the event, were they Romanians or Hungarians, were aware of the fact that that arbitrary decision made without consulting the peoples of Transylvania, was a scheme of the policy of force of the great powers pursuing the subordination of the two countries affected, Romania and Hungary, to the war interests of the Axis. Both the award and its aftermaths left deep marks in the conscience of the Romanians in Transylvania and of the Romanian nation as a whole greatly damaging the centuries-old idea of the two peoples' coexistence."

Next, the statement shows: The Hungarian population of Romania notes with concern that certain circles and certain organizations want to use the commemoration of 50 years since the signing of the Vienna Award to generate animosity between the Romanians and Hungarians in our country, between Romania and Hungary, thus hampering the internal process of democratization and the rapprochement and cooperation between the two countries. By spreading false information of abominable ill-faith, some people try to accredit the idea that in Transylvania there would be a general state of tension and conflict, that the life of the Romanians there would be in danger and that the Hungarian population, in complicity with Hungary, would threaten the interests of the Romanian state."

"Most resolutely" condemning this diversionist campaign, the MDUR assesses it in its statement as a direct continuation of the policy of the Ceausescu regime.

According to the statement "this diversion pursues a dual purpose. The first one is the intimidation of the ethnic minorities, the Hungarians in particular, the second one being to divert public opinion from the real, serious problems confronting this country." The MDUR [UDMR] considers that over the last few months the government has repeatedly neglected its duty of watching over public order, of preventing the actions of troublesome forces that aimed at destabilizing the country, of those who generated interethnic conflicts included "and warns the government that it will have to assume high responsibility in the following days and an immense risk as regards internal peace, the fate of the Romanian democracy, and Romania's prestige abroad were it to avoid acknowledging the real situation and fulfilling its duties."

The statement reads in conclusion: "We call on the Hungarian population of Romania to behave with moderation and lucidity, to understand and accept the peaceful events organized by our Romanian countrymen on the commemoration of the Vienna Award, not to answer any provocation, not to allow anybody to generate conflicts between the ethnic groups living in Transylvania.

We also call on our Romanian countrymen not to mistake the commemoration of this sad event for anti-Hungarian demonstrations, to reject any attempt at disuniting the two peoples."

Appeal for Calm Released

AU2908095490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0945 GMT 29 Aug 90

["Transylvania—Communique of the Ministry of the Interior"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1990—The Press Office of the Ministry of the Interior has released the following communique:

Today, when the joint session of the first democratically elected parliament of Romania takes place in marking 50 years since the signing of the Vienna diktat, the Ministry of the Interior urges again all citizens of the country, irrespective of political options, religion or ethnical belonging, to give proof of calm and moderation, not to let themselves be provoked to commit acts of disorder that might snowball into hard to control manifestations.

The Ministry of the Interior considers it necessary that the political parties, the legally constituted organizations and associations should take action tactfully and reasonably in order to deem above anything else the nation's supreme interests, not to yield to revanchist and revisionist ideas that incite to the development of a tense atmosphere that may stir worry and suspicion among the Romanian and Hungarian population.

Likewise, in the spirit of the appeal addressed to the whole people by the Army in Transylvania, we call on the capital residents to show high civic responsibility for the general cause of the nation, so that the quiet and stability so much needed for the normalization of the course of socio-political life should be entrenched in Bucharest as well.

The Ministry of the Interior effectives are resolved to further most firmly work, based on legal provisions, to combat the instances of violence, any attempt of destabilization of public order and quiet, in view of promoting and maintaining the law order in the state.

Gulf Crisis Implications for Romania Viewed

AU2808152790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1424 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—Data supplied by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inserted by "DIMINEATA" daily show that Romania is one of the countries most affected by the Gulf crisis, because Iraq is Romania's main commercial partner among the third world's countries ranking eighth in its trade exchanges. Every year those exchanges are worth 250 million dollars. A great part of Iraq's debt to Romania was to be paid by supplies of oil starting this very month. The Iraqi oil represents 25 per cent of our refineries' monthly processing capacity (the refinery in Midia will process only 180,000 as compared to 339,000 until now). The losses sum up tens of millions of dollars to which other 20 million dollars add representing shortcomings in various industrial branches which—being short of oil—cannot fulfil their plans.

Losses are also due to the end put to the Romanian exports to Iraq and Kuwait. This year alone they will sum up 117 million dollars of which 67 million is the value of firm export contracts and 50 million the value equivalent to construction and assembly works at economic units under construction in cooperation with Iraq. The losses in the contracts running over 1991-1992 are worth 50 million dollars. If we note that the treaties have been interrupted for the construction of economic units in Iraq worth of 300 million dollars, "DIMINEATA" daily shows, we shall have the image of the great sacrifice Romania makes by applying the sanctions ordered by the Security Council. Much more so as other millions of dollars will be lost because certain units under construction cannot be finalized and Romania will be forced to pay penal sums.

The image is completed by the fact that, at the same time, Iraq will not be able to export besides oil other products as well to Romania and that the return to the country in the shortest possible time of the 3,000 Romanian experts now in Iraq also calls for an effort on behalf of Romania in terms of current currency.

Over 400 Romanian Workers Return From Iraq

AU2908110090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 29 Aug 90

["Romania in the World: Romanians' Long Journey Home"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/8/1990—2,400 Romanians have been coming back home Iraq, these days. Of them, 1,600 are employees of the Romanian and Melioration Enterprise (ARCIF) and 600 "Uzinexportimport" company's employees.

As "ARCIF" technical manager says, that journey home is long and difficult. The Romanians travel by the Romanian enterprise's buses up to the Iraq-Turkey boundary. From there on buses are provided for in cooperation with a Turkish transport company.

According to the same source, in spite of the difficulties encountered, things are doing well. More than 400 Romanian workers had entered the country by midday yesterday.

Nastase: Romania Has Shown Commitment to Europe

AU2808110890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0755 GMT 28 Aug 90

["Interviews-Declarations—An Interview by Romanian Foreign Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—Romania, as a European country, stressed Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase in an interview with the periodical GLOBUL, has regained through the December 1989 revolution its dignity and right to participate on an equal footing in the new European construction and in international life, and in the relations with the East European countries it pursues the singling out of the really common interests and the provision of new bases to the relations, to mutual benefit, in the interests of good-neighbourliness and of actually contributing to the specific processes in the continent.

The foreign minister also emphasized that action is taken for Romania's integration in the European institutions and its direct participation in the efforts of the states signatory to the Helsinki Final Act.

We think, the minister said, that the reasonable solutions to protect national security can be found at the merger of the positive evolutions in the two military blocs now in full swing with the directions that are expected to be established at the CSCE summit in Paris next November. We have already proved, by our activity at the European meetings this year, our complete commitment to the process of genuine revival of confidence, stability and collaboration in the continent.

* Nastase Discusses CSCE, Other Issues

90BA0282A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 12 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Radu Bogdan; place and date not given; first paragraph is DIMINEATA introduction]

[Text] Mr. Adrian Nastase, a distinguished intellectual and prominent personality among experts in the prestigious discipline of public international law, known both here and abroad for his works, is the youngest foreign minister in Europe. After Nicolae Titulescu, Adrian Nastase is the first jurist to be appointed chief of Romanian diplomacy.

[Bogdan] Mr. Nastase, how do you feel in the seat occupied with such dignity and success by Nicolae Titulescu in the interwar period?

[Nastase] Rather uncomfortable.

[Bogdan] Why is that?

[Nastase] First, because Titulescu represents the highest standard by which a Romanian diplomat can be judged. Both from the viewpoint of foreign policy concept, i.e., at the conceptual level, and because of the success of his diplomatic demarches. And not last, because of the international recognition he enjoyed. The fact that such a high international standard is applied at such a difficult moment as is Romania's present makes it even more difficult to measure up to the general image of Titulescu. The best part of taking Titulescu as a point of reference for Romanian diplomacy is that with him as a model we become aware of the fact that we must actively shoulder our responsibilities.

[Bogdan] What situation did you find at the ministry when you took over?

[Nastase] After the Revolution, the Foreign Ministry embarked on a process of reorganization which required us both to rethink its working departments and possibly the entire diplomatic personnel. We have done a lot already. But what we are dealing with is a very complex process that cannot be accomplished overnight. Now it can be said that the ministry has begun to function, but not at full speed yet. Most of the ambassadors have been replaced. We still have problems with a few European appointments, such as Paris, London, and Rome. But we hope that everything will be settled by fall.

[Bogdan] What will the new organizational chart of the ministry look like?

[Nastase] The new organization was approved by the government a few days ago. However, its implementation will take a certain period of time, during which we will also make substantial changes regarding the level and age of the cadres. In addition to the traditional departments, the ministry will also have a few new ones, among them a Directorate for Multilateral Issues, which will emphasize European issues, whose importance has grown in the wake of the profound changes that have occurred in the political profile of the continent. The General Political Department under Minister Secretary of State Romulus Neagu will continue to incorporate the traditional area directorates: North America, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, next to two synthesis political directorates (in charge of political diagnosis and planning). We will also have a state secretariat for international relations and international law, and one directorate for economic policy, which has become necessary now that the state no longer has a monopoly on foreign trade. And finally, there will be a press and consular department, which will incorporate a section in charge of relations with emigres. There are real chances that the Romanian diaspora will begin to be treated gradually and unostentatiously, and that this issue will take a natural path. Another new department is the Human Rights Department under the Legal Directorate. Naturally, charting a new organization was infinitely less difficult than it will be to find and train new diplomatic personnel.

[Bogdan] Europe is one of the major issues of Romanian foreign policy. Why Europe?

[Nastase] As you know, a break occurred in the past few decades between European dynamics and the situation in Romania. We now have to find our way back. Romania belongs in Europe, is a part of Europe, and must practically set its clock by Europe again.

[Bogdan] At CSCE meetings in recent years, especially those which followed the all-European meeting in Madrid, Romania had become some sort of "black sheep," being the main target of criticism concerning the implementation of the Helsinki documents. What was the reason for that?

[Nastase] The Foreign Ministry was not in a position to issue its own diplomatic message. It was only a conveyor belt for passing on decisions. This put many professional Romanian diplomats in an embarassing situation. Diplomats are soldiers for their country. For that reason, after the Revolution there was a very relaxing feeling of release because we were able to shift from a defensive position, which was very difficult to defend because of its often impossible theses and concepts, to an active posture. Thus, from now on we want to become involved in bringing our own scenarios and models to mankind's issues.

[Bogdan] Hungary recently announced that it will soon leave the Warsaw Pact. What position will Romania adopt toward that organization?

[Nastase] The changes in East Europe have naturally brought about changes in the nature and role of the

Warsaw Pact. In fact, these matters were recently discussed at a Prague meeting of governmental representatives who are examining various proposals aimed at reducing the military functions and emphasizing the political and consultative aspects of the treaty. What is certain is that in the medium term, the Pact, which was generated by certain ideological confrontations, will utterly lose its raison d'etre. Consequently, we don't think that it is necessary to jump off a car which will soon run out of gas and stop of its own.

[Bogdan] As an expert in international law you dealt particularly with human rights—an essential aspect of interstate relations. What does the Romanian diplomacy plan do to tie us into the European realities from that viewpoint, too?

[Nastase] The human rights issue presents several levels which have to be clarified before we can proceed to any in-depth examination. The first is the conceptual level, and from this viewpoint, we will have to make special efforts to internalize the theoretical developments that took place in the world in the past years. The second important level deals with both domestic and international laws. At the international level there are over 60 human rights conventions. We have already begun joining most of them. One of the particularly important ones is the European Human Rights Convention, which features a large number of adjuvant protocols. What we view as essential in this respect is that Romania has withdrawn its reservations from the Final Act of the all-European meeting of Vienna, which were of course connected to human rights issues. At the same time, Romania actively participated at the Copenhagen meeting of experts in negotiating and adjusting the final document adopted, and in connection with other documents that were discussed. At the internal level, the human rights issues will have to be resolved through the Constitution, probably in a special chapter. The third level of analysis is the institutional one. This requires both the establishment of an internal framework in this area—at both governmental and nongovernmental levels—and joining human rights international institutions such as the European Council. It is important that the Parliament has established a Human Rights Commission. Similarly, certain nongovernmental Romanian organizations are about to be established, something that reflects the general social concerns with these issues, which will play mainly an active and militant role. I think that it is also important to create in Romania a Human Rights Institute under the aegis of the Parliament, whose role should be to inform, research, document, and educate. We thus come to the fourth level, that of human rights education, because we often talk of these rights without really knowing what they are. I think that it will be useful to organize classes in this area for judges, prosecutors, police officers, and others.

[Bogdan] Whether this is natural or not, Romanian-Hungarian relations remain at the top of the agenda, especially because of the Hungarian side's accusations concerning the alleged violation of the rights of the Magyar minority in Romania.

[Nastase] Before we judge and examine the truth of these statements we must first determine what these rights are. As is known, these rights are stated in Article 27 of the Treaty concerning individual civic and political rights. We believe that after the Revolution, a lot of improvements were made concerning the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities in Romania. Alone the fact that a political party like the UDMR [Democratic Union of Romanian Magyars] was able to send 41 deputies and senators to Parliament constitutes a concrete example of the new, democratic framework created. However, speaking of democracy, we do not think that democracy can advance in Romania at two speeds, one for the majority and another one for the minority. Consequently, there are problems that have not yet been resolved for the entire Romanian society, so it is not at all a matter of discrimination against the minorities. In fact, we do not believe that we should deal with natural minority rights by granting privileges. We intend to consistently implement the legal international standards concerning the minorities, as well as the policy of the most democratic states in this respect. But we are against using the problem of the rights of the Magyar minority as a political tool and we believe that this kind of approach can only be counterproductive for the bilateral relations. We are endeavoring to find a pragmatic approach that can lead to gradually resolving specific problems and, in time, to easing the existing tensions. Unfortunately, a whole international machinery, supported mainly by Hungarian emigres, are fanning an anti-Romanian climate abroad, which in turn elicits energetic reactions from the Romanian public.

[Bogdan] Are you optimistic about the future of bilateral relations after the recent Romanian-Hungarian talks in Budapest?

[Nastase] Optimistic may be too big a word. We view the very fact of the organization of such talks as something positive, and this should be the natural way of dealing with international problems.

[Bogdan] Are the Romanian Government and your ministry concerned about the country's image abroad?

[Nastase] The issue of image is of concern to us now, unlike in the past, when we had no such problems because they weren't taken into consideration. Now we keep our eyes open, carefully watch what is happening abroad, and attempt to take a hand in creating our own image. To a large extent, our country's image was created by others. We are obligated to show ourselves to the world with our own identity, including all the good and less good aspects of our history, traditions, and present life.

Sixth Romanian-Swiss Economic Commission Meets

AU2808195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1805 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—The proceedings of the 6th session of the Joint Romanian-Swiss Commission for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation started in Bucharest on Monday. The Swiss co-chairman is Mr. Silvio Arioli, ambassador at the Foreign Economic Relations Federal Office and representative of the Federal Council for Trade Agreements.

The Romanian co-chairman is Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and member of Romania's Government.

The joint Romanian-Swiss commission held its proceedings in plenary meetings and analysed: the stage of the economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two countries and on third markets; the necessary measures to intensify this cooperation as well as the existing and potential trade. The results will be enshrined in a joint protocol to be signed on Wednesday, August 29.

Roman Receives Italian Businessmen

AU2808194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/8/1990—Mr. Petre Roman received a delegation of the Italian firm "Ansaldo" led by President Gio Batta Clavarino. The firm is specialized in manufacturing electric machines and equipment and supplies the conventional parts for the nuclear power plant of Cernavoda.

Questions were approached related to expanding the cooperation between the Romanian specialty enterprises and "Ansaldo," setting up joint venture in this field, as well as tangible modalities of involving this firm in the implementation of the programme for the modernization and reequipment of Romanian electric power plants.

Militia Opens Fire at Crowd Awaiting Congressmen

'Several Thousand' Gather in Pristina

LD2908101690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0838 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Several thousand Albanians rallied at about 0900 [0700 GMT] outside Grand Hotel in Pristina to welcome a U.S. Congress delegation. The crowd chanted "U.S.A.", and other well-known slogans from earlier protest meetings and demonstrations. In addition to intermittent chanting, the assembled people often raised two fingers in the form of the letter "V." They are led by a group wearing miners' helmets and carrying streamers expressing a welcome for the U.S. congressmen. Militia forces controlled the situation in the town.

Militia Acts 'To Establish Order'

AU2908123990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Prvoslav Vukovic report from Pristina]

[Text] There has been a demonstration in Pristina in anticipation of a visit by United States congressmen. Our reporter Prvoslav Vukovic has the details:

[Vukovic] The gathering by several thousand Albanians prior to the arrival of the United States congressmen began at about 1000 [0800 GMT] in front of the Grand Hotel. The wait for the congressmen turned into a demonstration according to a preplanned scenario. Slogans from the already well-known separatist repertoire dominated. The demonstrators waved the U.S. flag; they chanted America; and Trepca miners in new overalls and helmets carried banners of welcome.

When the militia of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs tried to establish order, after giving a warning, they were attacked with stones, bottles, and other objects. In order to establish public law and order, the militia were forced to intervene, and shots were fired. This efficient action dispersed the demonstrations.

We have learned that five people have been detained, including two former ethnic Albanian militiamen who had been suspended from their duties. Many of the demonstrators were injured, as well as several militiamen.

Use of Tear Gas Reported

LD2908103790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—At about 1100 [0900 GMT] a strong militia force of the Serbian Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs dispersed several thousand Albanians who had assembled in Pristina to welcome a delegation of U.S. congressmen. They started to gather at exactly 0900 when, according to initial reports, the Congressmen were expected to arrive. As they waited they chanted slogans and repeatedly put up two fingers. When asked to disperse many of those assembled started to throw stones at the militiamen. Security members then used force [sredstva prinude] to disperse the assembled crowd with truncheons and tear gas. The area outside the Grand Hotel and the main Pristina street were cleared in just a few minutes. They are presently controlled by militia forces.

Street 'Emptied Within Minutes'

AU2908103090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] An hour ago, large forces of militia units of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia dispersed several thousand Albanians who had gathered in Pristina to greet a delegation of United States congressmen.

The gathering began at 1000 [0800 GMT] in front of the Grand Hotel at the time when the congressmen's arrival was expected. For a long time, the demonstrators shouted slogans that were well known from earlier gatherings and demonstrators and raised their hands making the victory sign with their fingers.

In response to a warning to disperse, many of those who had gathered began to throw stones at militiamen, after which members of the security organs dispersed them using batons and tear gas.

The area in front of the hotel and the main Pristina street were emptied within minutes, and this part of the town is now being controlled by militia forces.

U.S. Delegations Visit Croatia, Meet Leaders

Dole Delgation Meets With Domljan

LD2808211490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—A delegation of the U.S. Senate, headed by Republican leader Senator Robert J. Dole, met for talks with Croatian Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan in Zagreb today.

According to information from the Assembly president's cabinet, Dr. Zarko Domljan informed the U.S. delegation on "new democratic changes in Yugoslavia which followed the elections in Slovenia and Croatia, and on resistance to such changes in certain environments, which caused the present unrest in Croatia."

He stressed that "these problems, which threaten the survival of the new democratic republic of Croatia, are being resolved by the Croatian Government solely by democratic instruments. This is in accordance with the general idea that all civil, political, and national rights should be guaranteed to all citizens. [no closing quotes as received]

The information on these talks goes on to say that the leader of the U.S. delegation, Robert J. Dole, was particularly interested in the situation in Kosovo. Having replied to that question, Dr. Zarko Domljan proceeded to give exhaustive information on the organization of government in the Republic of Croatia, where its assembly has a centuries-old tradition of guarding Croatian statehood and sovereignty. He also presented data on the party structure of the Assembly.

Replying to a question on the transformation of social into private ownership, President Domljan said that "in this respect initial steps have been made through the preparation of a law regulating that."

Dr. Domljan said that the present conflicts between republics can only be overcome in a democratic way and by a creation of a federation of sovereign states interlinked by common interests.

Mr. Zdravko Mrsic, Croatian minister for relations with foreign countries, participated in the talks.

The delegation of U.S. senators, the information concludes, also had talks with Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman.

In addition to Zagreb, the delegation is going to visit Belgrade and Pristina.

Mrsic Greets Executive Branch Group

LD2808203190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The Croatian minister for relations with foreign countries, Zdravko Mrsic, today received U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Curtis Kamman, U.S. Ambassador to the SFRY Warren Zimmermann, and U.S. Consul General in Zagreb Michael Einik.

The friendly talks—as stated by the Croatian Information Ministry—"discussed the latest developments in Croatia. The stand taken by the Croatian government regarding the resolution of the crisis in Croatia, was assessed positively. Support for the process of democratization in the entire country was voiced."

"The United States will not interfere with the democratic processes of the reconstruction of Yugoslavia, which should be carried out in a peaceful and democratic manner," notes the statement from the Croatian ministry.

Presidency Disturbed by Tudjmans' Opening of Meet

LD2808133490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1249 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's State Presidency said today that the opening of the European athletics championship by Croatia's republican president instead of the Yugoslav presidency president was an attempt to ignore the existence of Yugoslavia as a state.

The championships were opened by Croatian republican President Franjo Tudjman not State Presidency President Borisav Jovic in what the statement said was an effort to promote Croatia as an independent state in European sport.

The Presidency statement said that Article 110 of the regulations for the organizing of European competitions specifies that organized competition of this rank be opened by the country's president or his representative.

"The state presidency did not appoint Tudjman as its representative to open the competition," the statement said.

It added that Jovic was not invited to open the championships but only as a guest to the formal ceremony on August 27.

That ignoring of Yugoslavia by the organization board and other competent bodies caused the state presidency to decide that neither its president nor any other member shall attend the formal openings of the championships in Split, today's state Presidency statement said.

Commission To Draft Croatian Constitution Formed

LD2808212790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The of the Croatian Presidency has been set up today in Zagreb. Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman is its chairman. The commission has more than 200 prominent members. Its working group, consisting primarily of lawyers and politicians, will draw up the foundations of a new Croatian constitution. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Views Tasks, Goals

LD2808150290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The new constitution of the Republic of Croatia must ensure the freedom of each individual, and the sovereignty of the Croatian people and each citizen living in the republic. This fundamental document, written by the people, should be of lasting value, and based on the positive state and legal traditions of Croatia as well as on the contemporary experiences of the demcoratic countries of Europe and the world.

This was stressed today by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, at the first constitutive session of the Constituent Commission [constitution drafting committee] of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia, which is made up of numerious prominent representatives in the field of politics, science, culture, and other activities.

Dr. Tudjman also recalled that this is a crucial historical moment, in which Croatia, after a full nine centuries, is obtaining for the first time a truly sovereign state and a real democratic constitution. Mentioning the current atmosphere in the republic, Dr. Tudjman assessed that Croatia has experienced a renaissance of the Croatian nation and of other citizens, but that it is also faced with resistance from dogmatic, hegemonistic and unitaristic forces, as well as with scenarios from outside the republic.

Closely connected with the elaboration of the new constitution is the work on a confederal agreement, which is also very important task, Dr. Tudjman pointed out. He mentioned that drafts of the confederal agreement between Slovenia and Croatia have already been elaborated.

Josip Manolic, president of the republican government, said that it is hoped that the Croatian constitution will define the full content of the relationship, to which the confederal agreement relates. Thus, the Croatian Government, according to Manolic, has determined that the first working draft of the republic's new constitution should be ready by 7 September.

The commission will be able to make its first comments and suggestions on the proposed text by 10 or 12 September. In addition to this commission, Manolic said, there will be an editorial committee for drafting the constitution, and also a working group. Dr. Franjo Tudjman, Josip Manolic, Slaven Letica, Dusan Bilandzic, Antun Vrdoljak, Milan Vuckovic, Zarko Domljan, Stipe Mesic, Milan Ramljak, Vladimir Seks, Ivica Racan and Martin Spegelj have been appointed as members of the editorial committee. The members of the working group will be specialists from the area of constitutional law—Veljko Mratovic, Branko Smerdel, Smiljko Sokol, Nikola Filipovic, and secretary Darko Bekic. [passage omitted]

Concluding the session, Dr. Franjo Tudjman said that the idea of arriving at a constitution by a consensus of the parties had been rejected. According to him, the will of the people must be paramount. Whether there will be a referendum, or whether the constitution will be adopted in the assembly following a public debate will depend on the circumstances in which it is adopted.

Referring to some of the party proposals received by the Croatian Government, Dr. Tudjman mentioned that there were even those who are calling for the proclamation of a sovereign independent state of Croatia. On the other hand, as Dr. Franjo Tudjman noted, one representative of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] said in the Assembly that Croatians are not a political people, and that they are genocidal. This is no basis for discussions, Dr. Tudjman said, particularly not on the most important issues such as the constitution. However, there are also more sensible proposals from the SDS for dialogue, Dr. Tudjman said, and reiterated that there are no aims in this republic other than to make it a free and democratic country modelled on contemporary European democracy.

Albanian Delegates Protest Kosovo Situation

LD2808204490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—A group of 14 ethnic Albanians, delegates to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, again sent an extensive letter to the SFRY Assembly, the State Presidency, and the federal government. The letter states that the situation in Kosovo, created by unconstitutional and illegal actions of the Serbian leadership, has recently reached unconceivable dramatic dimensions. The situation, according to the Albanian delegates from Kosovo, "is acquiring forms of a most brutal and unscrupulous occupation."

They condemn the fact that none of the top competent bodies in the country "found it appropriate to even voice its stance" in connection with the situation in Kosovo and a previous letter of the same delegates; the group considers this as a precedent in the parliamentary practice of modern countries.

The SFRY Presidency is condemned for "a duel, parallel standard of behaviour," and as an illustration for this assessment they cite its reaction to the Knin events.

In addition to a number of very serious evaluations and qualifications on Serbian policy, which, according to them, means occupying Kosovo and "legalizing the segregation and ghettoization of Albanians," the ethnic Albanians, delegates to the SFRY Assembly, call on the top bodies in the country to pay at least a little of the attention now being paid to the situation in Kuwait "to its own Kuwait in Kosovo."

At the end of the letter, its signatories Riza Aljaj, Ilijaz Kurtesi, Kurtes Salihu, Ram Alihajdari, Redzep Hamiti, Ali Zenuni, Neset Zubi, Jusuf Keljmendi, Sefedin Ljusi, Riza Gasi, Nazmi Rahmani, Cija Kasemlar, Musli Zusi, and Bahredin Osmani conclude:

"If after this letter of ours reaches you, urgent and energetic measures are not taken to eliminate the unconstitutinal and illegal situation in Kosovo and national, cultural, economic, political and all other rights are not secured, we cannot do anything else but, against our will, ask the SFRY Assembly to enable us to contact through regular channels international organizations and institutions for the protection of human rights of which Yugoslavia is a member."

Serbs Protest Pressure From 'Muslim Nationalism'

AU2808134590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 90 p 11

[M. Malisic report: "Barricades on the Roads"]

[Text] Ljubovija 22 Aug—Muslim nationalism has struck against many Serbs from Srebrenica and Bratunac, especially members of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in these communes, who managed to conclude the founding assembly of the SDS in Srebrenica and Kravica near Bratunac on Sunday [19 August] under the still-continuing pressure of Muslims who want discord between the Serbs and Muslims in these communes. For instance, a group of Muslims in the village of Potocar near Srebrenica erected barricades and carried out direct "checks" on motorists, also mistreating certain drivers who were Serbs, searching them for Serbian paraphernalia including flags, icons, symbols, and the like. Seeing the car carrying Goran Zekic, president of the SDS Assembly at Srebrenica, the group of Muslims threatened and provoked him.

Besides banging on the bus and cars carrying participants to the founding assemblies of the SDS in Srebrenica and Kravica near Bratunac, the Muslims also attacked the vehicles of Serbs that were traveling by chance along the Srebrenica-Bratunac-Kravica highway. Some of the Serbs' cars were damaged.

The Serbs proclaimed to Muslims in the Party of Democratic Action that not even these most recent events will drive them from their hearths, and that if necessary they will respond in the same way and will not put up with the terror which has previously taken covert forms, but has come into the open since Sunday.

Talking to Milomir Krsmanovic, head of the militia station in Bratunac, we learned that they are making maximum efforts to detect the culprits who struck the bus and several dozen cars, in which several Serbs were injured.

The most recent events these days in Srebrenica demonstrate that the statements in last year's report of the Serbian State Security Services were accurate. This report pointed out that Serbs are emigrating from certain communes on the left bank of the Drina under the pressure of Muslim nationalism. This report was rejected by the topmost leadership of Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as in Srebrenica, where it was criticized as untrue and malicious.

However, since the disclosure of this report one year ago, it has unfortunately been clearly substantiated in recent days. Besides excesses, the claim that Serbs from these communes are really emigrating under pressure has been proved, and new settlements have sprouted up in Ljubovija and Bajina Basta.

It must be added that there have been cases of the desecration of Serbian graves at Bratunac as well as at Suha and Borkovac. The monument to fighters in the National Liberation War was damaged in the very center of Bratunac.

The reason for all these events in these two communes can perhaps best be reflected in the words of Goran Zekic, president of the SDS Assembly at Srebrenica, speaking at its founding assembly:

"We are suffering the results of the door having been shut on truth, and we all know that nobody flees from something that is good. We will not abandon our hearths for the fun of it. The door was closed by those who have urged the creation of ethnically pure areas and the extermination of the Serbian intelligentsia. Fortunately for us, times are changing, and the truth has come to light. We therefore announce to all Serbs that we will keep the home fires burning, united in a struggle for a better tomorrow. Only with unity can we overcome Muslim nationalism and fundamentalism."

The Bratunac and Srebrenica SDS will shortly issue an official statement on the unpleasant events at Bratunac and Srebrenica.

Kosovo LC, SAWP Call For Strike Boycott

LD2808152590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidia of the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee and the Kosovo SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Provincial Conference are calling on all workers and management bodies not to be taken in by the call for a general strike, the demands for creating disorder and for idleness, rather to involve themselves in the normalization of production output. The two Presidia consider, as today's statement stresses, that the call for a general strike of Albanians is creating an additional worsening of an otherwise unfavorable situation in Kosovo and that it is motivated by unacceptable aims and by resistance to the implementation of the measures of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. The LC provincial committee Presidium and the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium consider that SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapundziju and Federal Executive Council member Nazmi Mustafa cannot remain in these posts, because, it is stated, their political work and involvement are not appropriate to the seriousness of the situation and are contrary to the stances on the stabilization of the situation in the province. The competent organs are therefore called on to set in motion the recall of Sapundziju and Mustafa.

Raskovic Dismissed From Job; Knin 'More Tense'

AU2808170290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report from Knin]

[Text] The situation in the Knin region is somewhat more tense after the announcement by the Medical Center in Sibenik that Academician Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, has been dismissed from his position, as well as after unsuccessful negotiations between the Tvik Screws Plant and the Split Bank on unfreezing that plant's account; the largest enterprise in the region. Dragan Stavljanin reports:

[Stavljanin] The earlier warning to Raskovic that he would be dismissed has reached its ultimate outcome in the formal legal sense, and has meant the beginning of rising temperatures across the political sense. It has been announced that the leadership of the Medical Center in Sibenik sent him an ultimatum stating that he was to present himself at his post by 1100 yesterday. It is pointed out that five days after the end of his annual leave [words indistinct]. Considering that Raskovic did not appear by the end of the working day yesterday, he was dismissed, the announcement says.

[Words indistinct] were also issued to Branko Popovic, general secretary of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Marko Dobrijevic, member of the party leadership. If one adds to this the petitions by citizens demanding that Raskovic, Popovic, and Dobrijevic be deported from Primosten near Sibenik [words indistinct] pours oil on fire.

(?Great) pressure is exerted in the economic field, too. To recall, the largest enterprise of the region, Tvik, which anyhow is in a precarious financial situation, had its account frozen by the Split Bank. No solution was found after the talks yesterday. The Split Bank announced last night that the account had been unfrozen, but the management of Tvik has denied this, saying the freeze was only postponed for eight days.

This move is interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the Croatian Government may want some room for maneuvering while solving this problem. On the other hand, the postponement of the freeze is explained with the European Athletics Championship in Split, because a continuation of the freeze would lead to possible countermeasures by Knin people, which is to say a blocking of the railroad station and the railroad line, and thus of rail traffic to the sea.

After a session of the central workers council of Tvik to be held shortly, we may learn something more what will come out of all this. The fact that the people do not forget their customs and religion despite the grave political and economic situation is demonstrated by the celebrations of the Assumption Day and the consecration of a church in the village of (?Padjeni) near Knin.

Reformist Alliance Coordinating Committee Founded

LD2808115490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Titograd, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—A coordinating committee of the Alliance of Reformist Forces [Savez Reformskih Snaga] of Yugoslavia in Montenegro has been founded in Titograd. The committee comprises representatives of initiative committees which have been formed so far in this republic, those which have yet to be formed, as well as representatives of the political parties which have joined this alliance collectively.

Ljubisa Stankovic has been elected chairman of the coordinating committee, Mirko Marovic as vice chairman, and Borislav Banovic as general secretary.

Macedonia Rejects Albanian Rights Petition

LD2808180290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Macedonian Assembly rejects the demands put forward by a group of Shqiptars [Albanians] in the form of a petition sent to the competent bodies in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the SFRY. The petition calls for the opening of institutions, schools, and facilities which would conduct business in Albanian; the introduction of school documentation in Albanian; the changing of educational plans and programs, especially those regarding literature and history; and, the reinstatement of teachers suspended for indoctrination of students from the position of the Albanian nationalism and separatism. Professor Dr. Savo Klimovski, president of the Republican Committee for Education, Culture, and Physical culture, stated this at today's news conference. Dr. Klimovski also underscored that the Macedonian Executive Council is firm in its stand that legal regulations should be enforced consistently and fully and that there will be no deviations from constitutional and legal regulations.

These demands, Klimovski said, directly contravene the constitutional and social orientations that Macedonia is the state of the Macedonian nation and that national minorities, such as Shqiptars, Turks, Romanies, Vlachs, and others—but only as citizens and not as ethnic minorities—enjoy equal status with Macedonians and other Yugoslav nationals living in Macedonia. [passage omitted]

UN Compensation Sought for Iraq Sanction Loses

LD2908084890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0029 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] United Nations, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's demand for compensation for damage due to the U.N. imposed economic sanctions against Iraq after its invasion on and occupation of Kuwait, is on the agenda of a special U.N. Security Council Committee for Sanctions Against Iraq which is in session in U.N. headquarters in New York, reliable sources say.

Yugoslavia, along with several other countries which will suffer considerable material damage by breaking off economic relations and strictly abiding by the Security Council decisions on boycott, has informed the United Nations that direct damages to Yugoslavia could amount to three billion dollars.

Sources in the committee say that a special fund might be set up to pay compensation to those countries which will be most affected by the economic sanctions against Iraq.

Jovic, Iraqi Envoy Discuss 'Critical' Situation

LD2808175390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is very concerned about the critical situation in the Gulf, which is endangering not only peace in the region but is also threatening to develop into a conflict with unforseeable consequences.

SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, who today in Belgrade received an envoy of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn—Minister of Planning Samal Majid Faraj—also drew attenion to Yugoslavia's strong interest that the outbreak of war be avoided and a way opened up for a political solution to the crisis in the Gulf.

However, the preconditions for opening the way to a peaceful solution to the crisis, Jovic stressed, is the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the establishment of the territorial integrity of this sovereign and nonaligned country.

President Borisav Jovic also stressed that Yugoslavia fully supports the resolutions of the UN Security Council with regard to the Gulf crisis, because it is convinced that their application reduces the danger of armed conflict and thereby keeps open the way to a political solution to the conflict.

Dr. Jovic stressed our country's interest in the fastest possible normalization of the situation in the region, because Yugoslavia and its economy have already suffered considerable material losses.

The Iraqi president's envoy acquainted President Jovic with the stances of the Iraqi Government on the exacerbation of the situation in the Persian Gulf and the danger of the outbreak of armed conflict.

Minister Faraj expressed his expectation that Yugoslavia, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, would be able to contribute to preventing further dangerous developments which could give rise to a conflict of broader dimensions.

The Iraqi envoy, Minister Faraj, expressed his sympathy to President Jovic in connection with the accident in the Dobrinja mine.

Loncar, PRC's Tian Call For Gulf Dialogue

LD2808182690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the PRC consider that the present situation in the Gulf calls for the quickest possible application of the UN Security Council resolutions and for maximum efforts to be made to prevent further use of force and suffering on a wide scale. This was the mutual assessment in today's talks between Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and his guest, Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Tian Zengpei.

During their talks, which concentrated on the development of the crisis in the Gulf following the Iraqi aggression and annexation of Kuwait, it was also assessed that the level of almost unanimous international solidarity indicates that the aggression and annexation are unacceptable and that the parties directly interested must take the first decisive steps toward creating conditions for dialogue and the solution of the contentious issues by negotiation.

It was agreed that the political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the PRC should be continued and deepened. To that end, a meeting is expected between Budimir Loncar and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen during the upcoming session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

The Chinese vice minister for foreign affairs is visiting Yugoslavia as part of a tour of several European countries.

Jovic Discusses Reform With Luxembourg Minister

LD2808155490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic today received Luxembourg Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jacques Poos who is visiting our country at the invitation of the federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The lengthy and friendly talks focussed on the course of the economic and political reforms in our country.

The guest from Luxembourg wanted to learn more about the further development of our political system and relations within the federation. At the same time, he noted that his country, and the European Community as well, is interested and willing to support the economic reform through intensified cooperation with Yugoslavia.

President Jovic talked about the democratic content of the reforms in our country, the firm orientation toward market economy and, on this basis, the setting up of new relations within the federation.

Minister Poos extended his condolences in connection with the tragic incident in the Dobrinja mine. He expressed the conviction that the international community will show its solidarity by helping Yusoslavia remove the consequences of this tragedy.